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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXVII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1934 NUMBER 999

Contents

The Week 291

Editorials

The Dollar Devalued 294
Unions for Technicians 295

General Articles

A Tax Policy for the United States ..... Harold M. Groves 297
Morning Devotion (verse) ..... Janet Lewis 299
The New Labor Progressives ..... David J. Saposs 300
Kingfish to Crawfish ..... Hodding Carter 302
Pan-Americana ..... Jonathan Mitchell 305
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 307
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 308
The Assault on the Battery ..... Paul Rosenfeld 309

Correspondence 310

Days Without End ..... Stark Young 312

Books in Review

Poet of the Irish Revolution ..... Robert Cantwell 313
Portrait of Swift ..... Stewart Mitchell 314
Insurance and the Public ..... Abraham Epstein 314
Confectionery ..... Horace Gregory 316
Mr. Hammett Goes Coasting ..... T. S. Matthews 316
Books in Brief 317

The Week

IN THE dispute over the code for the electric-power industry, we believe that right lies on the side of those who say it should not be put under the N.R.A. This industry is almost everywhere monopolistic. It is already under control of the state public-utility commissions and to some extent of the Federal Power Commission. Why does the industry want a code? It wants to be freed from the anti-trust law. It also wants publicly owned power plants forced to join what would amount to a trade association dominated by the private power interests, which is about like asking a lamb to join an organization of ten wolves. In particular, an important purpose of the private power interests is, for the sake of profits, to prevent "overproduction" of power. Under the code strenuous efforts would undoubtedly be made to prevent the erection of new publicly owned plants on the plea that these competed needlessly with the existing private supply. But this philosophy is in square opposition to that of the government as evidenced, for example, in the Tennessee Valley Authority, which believes that power should be produced in ever larger quantities and at lower rates and its utilization in more and more ways encouraged.

MR. Donald Richberg, pleading for the code, says that it is necessary in order to regulate wages and hours. He forgets that the N.R.A. has done next to nothing for labor except in the lowest wage group. In every other case, it is the workers themselves, operating under collective bargaining, who have achieved wage increases. While a code helps collective bargaining, it is not essential for that purpose. We can be sure that the big public-utility interests which stand behind Mr. Richberg in his plea are not concerned for the welfare of labor; if they were, they could better conditions without waiting for government authority. In short, the industry does not come into court with clean hands; and the government has no business helping it to gain still greater advantages than it already, and wrongfully, enjoys.

ONE of the most glaring inconsistencies of the President's policy has been reducing the salaries of government employees at the very time when private business was being urged to increase wages. This inconsistency was reënforced in the first week of the new session of Congress. The President retained until June 30 the 15-percent cut which he had already made, and the administration forces in the House created a technical situation such that the law authorizing this cut would be reënacted for the next fiscal year. Mr. Roosevelt's excuse is that the cost of living in Washington (though not in some other cities) is now 15 percent below the base period of 1928 set in the law, and therefore that the employees have suffered no decrease in real wages. But, if his price-raising program is to have any effect on the cost of living, this will not remain true. Even before next June retail prices may rise. Certainly it is inconsistent to expect a stationary cost of living for the following year at the very time when a monetary policy is announced the whole validity of which depends on a marked rise in prices. The fact that this victory for the administration program was won by the narrow margin of five votes indicates that sentiment throughout the country is alive to the inconsistency and injustice of the policy. Uncle Sam is the master chiseler.

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THIS week, Cuba has a new government and seems once again on the eve of a bloody civil war. For this development, the United States must take a large share of the blame. President Roosevelt said in his address at the Woodrow Wilson dinner that the United States no longer intends to intervene in the domestic affairs of any Latin American country. We do intervene, however, when a government comes into power in Cuba and we express our tacit disapproval by failing to extend prompt and complete diplomatic recognition to that government. Our relation to Cuba is so overwhelmingly important that no government there can be secure so long as there is any doubt of the friendly attitude of the United States toward it. Presumably President Roosevelt withheld recognition of the Grau San Martin regime because he did not like some of its policies. If so, he made a mistake, for the new government appears to be still farther to the Left, and spontaneous radicalism among the common people is evidently spreading, as is evidenced by the seizure of American-owned sugar mills and electric-light plants. In our opinion, the only sensible course is for the United States to recognize any government that comes to power in Cuba and survives longer than a few hours. This would be a return to our historic policy; guaranteeing to the Cubans that the United States was prepared to do business with any regime which they were prepared to accept.

THE general staff of the world revolution met recently and issued a highly important document. The general staff, we have called it, but its technical name is the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The meeting was its Thirteenth Plenum, and the document is its Thesis. The interest of all this for people outside the Communist movement lies in the fact that these executive committeemen are all seasoned revolutionaries and students of international affairs. Their hope of success rests largely on their ability to foresee the course of world events, and they have to predict them much more accurately than do ordinary diplomats and Foreign Ministers, who, with armies and navies behind them, can afford to make mistakes. What do they think about the crisis of capitalism? "At the present time," they say on the basis of their reports, "the world is closely approaching a new round of revolution and wars." In many countries, fascism will come first, but, "on the other hand, the fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries." Meanwhile they do not believe that capitalist prosperity will return in the near future. There has been an increase of production in some industries, in some countries, but most of it has been artificially produced by various government measures, and has taken place in such industries as metals, chemicals and textiles—those most essential to war. Meanwhile the machine and building-construction industries, and those producing goods for the consumer, have continued their catastrophic decline. The only result can be "a still greater disturbance of state finance and a still further intensification of the general crisis." It is war and not prosperity that lies just around the corner.

WHAT should the working class do in the light of these prophecies? It should struggle against fascism, and can actually prevent its coming in many countries. It probably cannot prevent new wars, but should struggle against them none the less. They will not inevitably be followed by Communist revolutions. "Only a Bolshevik struggle *before* the outbreak of war . . . can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war." The whole document, which makes other important points, is printed in The Daily Worker of January 13. It is accompanied by two announcements which are also of interest to the outside world. One is a statement of the financial balance sheet of the world revolution. From all sources, but about 90 percent from membership dues of the Communist party in thirty-eight countries, it received during 1933 the sum of $1,134,522. For purely administrative purposes it spent $400,000. For "subsidies to party papers and publishing houses and for party educational work" in all the countries of the world, it spent exactly $601,000. This money, collected from the contributions of workingmen, is the famous "Moscow gold." A small share of it came from this country, and a smaller share was probably returned here. The second announcement bears on Trotsky's statement in The New Republic that the Communist International is moribund and hasn't held a general congress since 1928. Such a congress is announced for the second half of the present year, and immediate preparations are ordered for it in all countries.

ERSKINE CALDWELL, the well known author, last week turned reporter. He telegraphed to The New Masses a description of conditions at Bartow, Georgia, where he says that a race war has been in progress for several weeks. At least three Negroes have been killed by gangs of white men; two others are "missing" and several are under protective arrest. Fourteen houses have been burned. Local authorities assume that nothing will be done to punish the murderers, on the ground that witnesses won't testify and juries won't convict, in cases where white men have attacked Negroes. The International Labor Defense has telegraphed to the local sheriff, the Governor of Georgia and President Roosevelt, demanding an end of this reign of terror and punishment for the participants. One of the most striking features of the situation is that, so far as we can learn, nothing has appeared in the daily press about this situation. Either Mr. Caldwell has made up the whole story—which is obviously impossible—or the local papers and the press associations have been guilty of breaking the first rule of journalism: to get and print the news.

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Or is the murder of Negroes now so common that it is no longer worth printing?

LORD Rothermere, the publisher of The Daily Mail, has openly come out for fascism in England with a front-page editorial in support of Sir Oswald Mosley. But somehow the British don't seem to be much impressed. For one thing, Mosley was pretty generally sized up a long time ago as a silly young man, and he has not been able to collect much of a following. For another, Rothermere has a habit of coming out for things which he never succeeds in getting. And his attitude is not much of a surprise after all, because he has simply adopted this new name for the position that has long been his. One interesting development is that Rothermere frankly advocates fascism, not as a radical and socialistic movement in the interest of labor—which is its usual disguise in the early stages—but as a conservative one to protect the nation against socialism—which is what it always turns out to be in the later stages. Fascism has not enough followers yet in Britain to make such frankness safe. It must begin as a competitor, rather than as an enemy, of an established working-class movement. On the whole, Rothermere seems to have deprived Mosley of what small hope he already had.

WHEN a strike wave sweeps the Imperial Valley in California, the Constitution with its Bill of Rights is conveniently forgotten. Deputy sheriffs with guns on their hips march out, not to enforce the law of the land, but simply to protect the interests of the ranchers. Judged by its products, Imperial Valley is an agricultural district. Judged socially, it is a huge factory where fruit and vegetables are produced like automobiles in Detroit. But the labor is not so well paid as Detroit labor. It is drawn from the social classes that are willing to work the longest hours in the hot sun for the lowest wages; it includes thousands of Mexicans and Filipinos—people whom California sheriffs traditionally regard as having no civil rights. All this provides the background for a telegram that we have just received from the California branch of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. We shall repeat the message without comment:

> Five thousand men are out in a new strike wave that is sweeping the Imperial Valley. In a reign of terror, hundreds are being arrested, including the organizer for the International Labor Defense. Bail has been set at $1,000 each. Mass deportations of Mexican and Filipino workers are being planned. The union hall was gassed. It is impossible to bring food to the strikers, since all roads are blocked by the police. The sheriff has wired Governor Rolph to send troops. Protests on a national scale would aid the strikers by informing the California officials that their activities are known throughout the country. Please rush wires to Sheriff Campbell, El Centro, California, and Governor Rolph at Sacramento.

IT WAS clear at the outset that the Hitler government would not accept as final its temporary defeat by the Protestant Church about two months ago. It has now returned to the fray with renewed vigor and declared open war on the recalcitrant Church. When a Sunday-school service for children in Berlin was held in defiance of Reich Bishop Müller, the government arrested four officiating clergymen and interned in concentration camps the lay leaders of the demonstration. The Church was prepared for the blow. A declaration signed by 6,000 members of the Pastors' Emergency Federation protesting against the domination of the Church by the present regime with its "pagan conception" of religious ceremony, has been read in more than a hundred churches. Protest meetings against the ukase of the Hitler Bishop were planned for ninety cities on the following day—ten in Berlin alone. It is highly significant that the Protestant clergy does not stand alone in its opposition to the Reich government. The Catholic Church, through its leading representatives, Cardinal Faulhaber in Munich and Cardinal Bertram in Breslau, has also expressed its strong disapproval of the "pagan theories" of the new regime; together with its Evangelical brethren, it has proclaimed the doctrine that "God's will stands above government dictation." Behind the Protestant and Catholic clergy, Hitler's old adversaries of the German Nationalist People's party and the Centrist party are lining up for a new offensive against the entire National Socialist system. The Nazis will not find it easy to beat down the Church rebellion. The powerful and influential elements represented there will prove more difficult to handle than the "Marxist mob."

IN THE midst of a universal crisis, strange figures are cast up from the depths of the people, momentarily occupy the center of world interest, then forever disappear. Marius van der Lubbe was a figure such as this. He wandered over Holland and Germany, spending his nights in shelters for the homeless, arguing during the day about the pressing questions of world politics and where to get the next meal, consorting sometimes with Communists and oftener with Nazis. There are thousands and millions like him in Europe, lost youths of the post-war generation with no settled place in society. Suddenly this particular youth became the center of a trial that was reported in the newspapers of five continents and that called forth street demonstrations all the way from Shanghai to Capetown. On the whole Marius van der Lubbe did not acquit himself badly. Reports of the trial at Leipzig spoke of him as an idiot, staring at the floor in dull and disinterested apathy, answering all questions with an impassive Yes or No, or breaking out into insane laughter. And yet he kept the faith in his own way—he neither revealed his true accomplices in the Reichstag fire nor did he falsely accuse the four Communist defendants, even though by implicating them he could have saved his own head.

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AT THE trial Geheimrat Bonnhöfer, expert psychiatrist for the prosecution, testified that he had examined the accused on March 20 and again on March 25, "without finding the slightest indication of a psychic disturbance. . . . There was self-assurance, not to say hilarity, in his behavior at that time." What happened to van der Lubbe between March and September? Impartial psychiatrists and toxicologists are of the opinion that some external agent must have brought about this change; they disagree only as to the principle used. Latterly the diagnosis of a famous toxicologist in Paris, namely that van der Lubbe was under the influence of scopolamin, a deadly vegetable alkaloid with a physiological action similar to belladonna, has been generally accepted. In doses of one-fourth to one-half milligram it is a strong cerebral depressant, changing the normal person into a lethargic, brutish creature, inhibiting mental processes and resulting in muscular prostration. A profuse running of the nose is another characteristic symptom. All of these were present in the case of van der Lubbe. The inexplicable refusal of the Germans to grant the request of the Dutch government to return the body to Holland for burial and their willingness to permit the relatives to conduct the interment on German soil, seem to confirm this theory. The presence of scopolamin can be traced in the human body for more than four weeks after it is administered.

The Dollar Devalued

THE President's message on monetary policy was shrewdly timed for its political effect. Congress was ready to investigate the administration's policy so far; committee hearings were to begin on the very day that the message was delivered; the silver bloc was preparing to force more buying of silver at a higher price. Mr. Roosevelt now defines more precisely his own aims, asks for further authority to carry them out, and outflanks the inflationary groups that disagree with him or want him to go further than he seems inclined to do. Again he has demonstrated the political value of assuming the aggressive. There is little doubt that he will win in Congress. But will his policy win, in the face of events? What does he propose, and what are its implications? Let us examine his message:

1. *Monetary Gold, Its Ownership and Use.*—The President wants legislative authority to acquire for the Treasury all the monetary gold in the country. Most of this is now owned by the Federal Reserve banks, some by other banks, and some (in defiance of executive order) is held by individuals. In exchange for the gold, the government would issue gold certificates—dollar for dollar. After acquiring the gold, the Treasury would not again reissue it as money. It would not be minted, but would be held in bullion form. The government would pay out gold, not to use within this country, but only to settle balances in foreign payments.

This means that we should never go back to the gold standard in the full sense of the word. Nobody would have a right to go to a bank or to the Treasury and get gold in exchange for his currency. Gold could never be hoarded again. In another sense, however, we should remain on the gold standard. Gold would still form an important part of the reserve behind currency and credit. It would still impose some limit on their expansion. And it would be used, as before the crisis, to settle international balances.

No expansion of the means of payment is immediately involved in this transfer of gold to the federal Treasury. The certificates issued by the government to pay for the gold would merely take the place of the metal now in bank reserves or private possession. Having paid for the gold with these certificates, the government could not again issue money against it, before formal devaluation occurs.

The President's argument that it is not necessary for gold to circulate, and that this fundamental basis for money should at all times be in the government's hands, is entirely reasonable. When the President devalues the dollar, the government will come in for a profit. It has bought the gold with a certain number of dollar certificates, based on the old parity. It then declares, let us say, that a dollar is worth only half as much gold as before. This releases half the gold in its possession to form the basis of a new issue of gold certificates, which cost no more than the paper and printing necessary to produce them.

2. *Devaluation.*—The President already has power to devalue the dollar if he pleases, and when he pleases, and at any gold value he pleases, down to a minimum of 50 percent of its old parity. He now wants Congress to say that he shall not revalue it at more than 60 percent of its old parity. This answers the plea for a greater definiteness as to his monetary plans. It carries the implication that he firmly intends to devalue—that is, to go back to the gold standard, but at a lower gold parity. It fixes, within a margin of ten points, the value at which he intends to go back. It shows that he does not intend to push the exchange far below its present level, since the dollar is now down to about sixty cents. It leaves open only the time at which formal devaluation will happen.

The President is correct, we believe, in not wanting to devalue now. He wants first to reach some understanding, at least with Great Britain, and possibly with other nations as well, as to the relative values of the respective currencies which the nations will strive to maintain. He cannot reach this agreement at present because British authorities believe that the existing relationship greatly overvalues the pound in terms of dollars. They believe this because American prices of exportable products have not risen so much as the exchange value of the

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dollar has fallen. One result is that foreign customers of both nations can buy more cheaply in this country than in Great Britain, and thus our exports have what the British believe is an unfair advantage over theirs. Another result is that we can now buy less in England than before for the same number of dollars, while Englishmen can buy more here. This exerts a downward pressure on British prices—a deflationary tendency which the British wish to avoid. The question what exchange ratio between the dollar and the pound can be maintained clearly depends upon what happens to American prices. The President has adopted his monetary policy with the expressed intention of raising these prices. The British do not wish to take final action until they see whether this policy is successful. Both must wait for the price outcome.

The New Republic has in the past expressed doubt whether depreciation of the exchange would automatically and permanently raise American prices, especially under conditions of depression. If prices are to rise, they must do so as a result of other measures, and these measures must be those that stimulate a business revival—such as a large public-works program. We still do not see in immediate prospect any marked revival, or any consequent and permanent price increase. The new measure adds one element to the price-raising program. If speculators, exporters and foreign importers are assured that the dollar will not be valued above sixty cents, they may proceed to bid dollar prices up to the required figure. This certainly is an advantage over the previous indefiniteness. But whether the psychological motive will be sufficient to bring about the desired result cannot be foretold.

If, as months go by, revival does not come and prices do not rise to compensate for the fall of the exchange, Mr. Roosevelt is not compelled to go back to gold at any valuation. But in that case he will sometime be forced by the continued uncertainty to fix a value for the dollar, at least in relation to the pound. And if he wants to keep the dollar linked in some way to gold, he will be forced to ask Congress to repeal the maximum of sixty cents which he now asks it to set, and to fix a higher gold parity.

3. *Future Inflation.*—Inflation is not immediately to be feared as a result of this step. The President intends to retain a currency backed by a metallic base. Even the issue of additional gold certificates which devaluation will make possible will not add enough to the supply of money to have great effect, and this issue will be definitely limited. But if revival comes, and business begins to borrow freely from the banks, a real danger of credit inflation will arise. Existing reserves are tremendous, and would support a larger extension of credit, and a higher price level, than in 1929, even with more production and business activity than we had then. Devaluation will in effect increase these reserves between 80 and 100 percent.

4. *The Profit from Devaluation, and Its Use.*—The additional gold certificates that the government can issue against the gold in its hands after devaluation will constitute a windfall of over $2,000 million. The President wants authority to use this amount to deal in gold, or foreign exchange, or government securities. Up to the present he has been dealing in gold with a fund from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which will soon be exhausted if gold purchases continue. If the President pursues a policy of exchange warfare with other nations, even this huge amount will eventually be dissipated. Sooner or later the exchange must seek its own value, depending on the balance of payments. But if the President uses this amount to hold the exchange fairly steady somewhere near its normal value, it will be more than ample. In that event the government can invest its windfall by purchasing and retiring domestic bonds. This will have two enormously useful effects—it will reduce debt charges, and it will help sustain the bond market at a time when the government is a heavy borrower. Whether the present parity of the dollar can be maintained without continuous purchases of foreign gold and exchange depends on whether the domestic price level rises to compensate for the fall of the exchange.

5. *The Conclusion.*—No matter from what point one approaches the new development, the conclusion is that the nation's problem is much greater than that of monetary management. The policy will not in itself bring revival; it can be maintained only if revival comes. For on revival depends the chance of supporting higher prices, and on doing this depends the chance both to reach an international agreement that will permit a devaluation possible to maintain, and the chance to invest the government's profit from devaluation instead of dissipating it. And, if revival comes, the existing policy will encourage monetary instability by having laid the base of a huge inflation of credit, unless other effective measures are taken to check that inflation.

Unions for Technicians

IS A TECHNICIAN a workingman, who can be benefited, like any other workingman, by trade-union organization? Or does he practise a profession, and is it therefore "beneath his dignity" to participate in joint action with his fellow technicians? Heretofore, the technicians have always gone on the latter theory. But today, with enormous unemployment (a Columbia University survey reports 98 percent for architects, 85 percent for engineers and 65 percent for chemists) and with their position imperiled by developments under the N.R.A., many technicians are changing their minds.

The majority of these workers, of course, even in prosperous times, never earned salaries commensurate with the type of work they did and the long

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years of preparation and study for their tasks. The small professional engineering or architectural office is passing out of existence. As the years go by there is a steady growth of monopolistic enterprises and industries. It is to the advantage of these industries to have their own architectural and engineering departments. The city, state and federal governments are doing an increasing share of their own work. Any new private work of large size is handled by combinations of offices, as was the case in Rockefeller Center.

What can the technician expect? He is a skilled laborer, but, because he is unorganized, he is being offered the wage of unskilled labor. More and more he becomes one of the cogs in the industrial machine. Because of a traditional deep-rooted prejudice against economic organization, he now finds himself in many cases receiving about *half* the wages of skilled labor under the N.R.A. codes and on C.W.A. projects.

There is no blanket N.R.A. code today for technicians. These men are scattered through a thousand industries; with few exceptions, no provisions have been made for them in the codes of any of these industries, the technicians being conveniently regarded as "superintendents" or "executives." The result is that in many cases the men are actually receiving only the minimum wage provided for unskilled laborers. In some of the few codes where specific provisions have been made for them, this unfair wage remains unchanged. The Hardwood Distillation Code, for example, provides a wage minimum for qualified chemists of $14 a week. In the code of the Chemical Manufacturing Industry, now in its fifth revision, no distinction is made between "technical employee" and "employee" in the application of a wage rate of thirty-five to forty cents per hour. This distinction is not made until it becomes the basis for exempting technical men from a limitation of hours, and for introducing a "merit clause," under which the employers retain the uncontrolled right "to engage, to promote, or release employees" on the theory that technical workers must be capable of "constant advancement in their technical skill and of high and loyal character."

The gravity of the situation was revealed at the recent hearings in Washington for the Construction Industry Code. The American Institute of Architects, which the technicians describe as "genteel, ethics-loving, employer-controlled," proposed a minimum wage for architects of fifty cents an hour, with a week of as much as forty-eight hours; the American Society of Civil Engineers and other major engineering societies proposed forty cents an hour as a minimum for engineers.

The recently founded Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians was the only organization representing employees exclusively which took part in the code hearings. It reported three serious grievances: First, the directors of the professional engineering societies had not consulted their rank-and-file membership in drawing up the codes. Second, wage rates proposed made no provision for varying degrees of training and experience. Third, wage rates were ridiculously inadequate. The Federation submitted a counter-proposal which classified the men according to their experience and provided $30 a week for beginners, $45 a week for junior technicians and $65 a week for seniors. It is fair to assume that only because of this opposition was the code withdrawn for further consideration.

This Federation has no relation with the American Federation of Labor; dues are small and none of the officers is paid. It is entirely democratic in structure. In the space of five months, it has grown to a membership of 5,000, with branches already established in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. It is interesting to note that the Federation has since established its claim to be the only employee organization for engineers by sending a circular to the members of the A.S.C.E. informing them of what took place at the code hearings and submitting to them two questions: Had they had a voice in the adoption of the A.S.C.E. code? Did they wish to be represented by the Federation? Of 600 answers received, the answer to the first question was unanimously "no," while some 95 percent answered "yes" to the second.

Today, thousands of technicians lately unemployed find themselves employees of the federal government under the P.W.A. or the C.W.A.; but this status by no means solves their problem. There have been widespread complaints from technicians, as we have already suggested, that they have been subjected to discriminatory treatment, and that in their case, the government has not made good on its pledges that workers would be paid the prevailing current rate in their communities. These developments have made the technicians feel more strongly than ever that independent union organization is necessary. Many thoughtful men and women in their ranks are pondering the evident fact that even if prosperity should return and they become again employed in private industry, they must organize if they are not to be reduced permanently to the status of a highly skilled serf of our industrial oligarchy.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1934, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 421 WEST 21ST STREET, NEW YORK CITY. BRUCE BLIVEN, PRESIDENT. DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER.

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A Tax Policy for the United States

I: *Taxation and Recovery Economics*

THE POWER to tax is the power to destroy," said the United States Supreme Court in a famous decision by Chief Justice Marshall in 1819. Many years later the Court added: "The power to tax is the one great power on which the whole national fabric is based . . . It is not only the power to destroy, but also the power to keep alive." The full truth of this latter statement will probably be realized during the next decade.

The Recovery program obviously includes some degree of inflation. It remains to be seen just how far this inflation will go or what form it will ultimately take. Already huge sums of money have been expended to distribute purchasing power and put men back to work. How long it will be necessary to pump new blood into the arteries of the economic system nobody knows. Whether or not the necessity is prolonged, the government will inherit from the depression a crop of new needs for governmental expenditure such, for example, as the rehabilitation of the unemployables. So far the government has financed its program by selling its promises to pay to investors. It may later find it advisable to borrow from its central banking system as it did during the War.

It is generally realized that inflation is a dangerous weapon. It is dangerous, first, because it may lead to a boom which in turn may lead to another depression; and second, because it may be carried to a point where confidence in our money and credit is impaired. To these recognized dangers a third should be added: that inflation may result in a bonanza to certain classes in the community at the expense of other classes whose purchasing power needs to be conserved.

All three of these dangers are real. To avert them an adequate taxation program is indispensable. In the first place, only through the instrument of taxation can we prevent in the next period of prosperity the exorbitant profits that lead to wild speculation in stocks, to a gross overexpansion of industry and a resulting crash. Second, only through taxation can we, as times improve, make the shift away from borrowing as a means of financing government expenditures—a shift obviously necessary to sustain, in the long run, our money and credit. It is doubtful whether our present taxes, even with increased yields, will be sufficient for this purpose. Finally taxation is the only instrument by which some of the speculative gains from rising prices can be collected and used indirectly to enhance the purchasing power of those most likely to suffer from an inflation. Recent disclosures suggest that unless we stop up the holes and otherwise strengthen our tax system, speculative gains will tend to be retained by speculators, and they may be the chief if not the sole beneficiaries of the return to the 1926 price level. Here we see the truth of the Court's statement that the power to tax is the power to save as well as to destroy.

It is now widely conceded that one of the major causes of the depression was a surplus of capital seeking investment and a very inadequate market for consumption goods. The time-honored checks and balances of the economic system failed to prevent this. During the period from 1922 to 1929, we invested more than $8,000 million abroad, but our investment capital, in spite of this foreign outlet, was sufficient to overbuild our industrial equipment in almost every line.

The opposite side of the shield was the inadequacy of the purchasing power of our consuming population. We tried to conserve our domestic market by excluding goods from abroad. Efforts were made to inflate purchasing power—among other ways, through the encouragement of instalment buying. Instalment credits were increased during this period from $1,500 million to $9,000 million. But this bubble, along with several others, was pricked at the beginning of the depression in 1929.

No matter how painful it may be for some to acknowledge, the plain fact is that we have reached the point where no adequate market can be maintained for our high-geared industrial mechanism without some substantial alteration in the distribution of our wealth. The N.R.A. is a recognition of this fact. Its type of alteration is an effort to raise wages and shorten hours. The objective of this program may, however, be defeated, as we have seen, through a rise in the cost of living. There is another means to the same end which does not involve any offsets in increased consumers' costs. That is an adequate program of taxation based on the principle of ability to pay. Who can deny that had we spent the $8,000 million we invested abroad, probably none of it destined to return, in goods our people can enjoy, had we spent this money upon our educational system, on our highway system, or upon a large-scale public-housing program, or even upon reducing the oppressive taxes paid by farmers during the last decade, we should be just about $8,000 million ahead? If we must give away Christmas presents in order to dispose of capital and create a market, we may as well give the presents to our own people.

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"But," says Mr. Hearst, "what about the vitally important matter of profits? Business must have profits if it is going to expand." The fact seems to be that what business needs is orders. Unless it gets orders there is no need for it to expand. There is no apparent shortage of facilities to produce any goods the country can buy. Nor is there any disposition on the part of business men to reject any orders they can procure.

Why has the national government urged industry to increase wages at the same time that it has cut its own employees a flat 15 percent? Why have the state and municipal governments been allowed to continue on their course of cut, cut, cut without either remonstrance or assistance from the federal government? Isn't the purchasing power of a garbage collector or a janitor as important as the purchasing power of a textile worker? The administration has hinted that it intends to eliminate this inconsistency from the N.R.A. as soon as it gets its second wind. Its power to do so will depend to a large extent upon its taxation program.

The Senate's Wall Street investigations have given the country some fine examples of how many incomes, especially large incomes, are acquired. Much wealth has been accumulated through means quite aptly described by one reporter as "pulling a $12 million profit out of the Wall Street hat without putting in even a handkerchief." Others have profited handsomely from the exploitation of American investors. No doubt there are thousands of good, socially minded people who feel an urge to participate in a lynching party for Mr. Wiggin. Why not sublimate this very natural desire and tax him instead? Our present tax system seems sadly inadequate for the task. Now is the time to strengthen it.

The American people cannot be blamed if by now they have come to the conclusion that the men to whom they have been paying salaries and dividends to the extent of millions of dollars annually are an extremely bad bargain. What can they do about it? Get a new economic system, say the radicals. To which the answer is that new economic systems, desirable though they may be, do not spring up over night, not at least by peaceful means. Any other means is likely to prove a boomerang. Meanwhile it is possible to mitigate the injustices of the present system by collecting through taxation a substantial portion of the huge quantity of unearned income.

Our present economic crisis and its aftermath are requiring and will require many economic readjustments. For example, it now appears almost certain that our agricultural industries will have to be much curtailed. A large number of men rendered unemployable by the depression and by technological change will have to become a public charge. This business has involved and will involve very heavy sacrifices on the part of millions of farmers and workers—sacrifices of the sort that cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It is idle to talk about commensurate sacrifices from those who have been the favored children of the economic system. There is no tax-equivalent of the indignities and shocks which a large section of the population have suffered and will suffer. But through taxation of the right sort the human cost of our economic transition may be greatly reduced and the money cost of the reduction charged to the chief beneficiaries of the system.

The question may now be asked: Do we not have a good tax system? Do we not have a graduated income and estate tax? Is it not true that what is now needed is not more taxation but a mounting national income to make our present taxes productive?

To this the answers are: first, that we need to be on guard against the demand for a reduction of rates, a demand sure to be vigorously pressed the moment our national income expands and our tax receipts recover; second, that our present schedule of income-tax rates, in spite of the gravity of the national crisis and our expanding public expenditures, is still substantially lower than it was during the War, and both our income and estate taxes are considerably lower than similar taxes abroad; third, that the changes in our economic situation and the necessity of high income and inheritance-tax rates make it more important than ever before that the leaks and special privileges in our tax laws be eliminated.

All during the twenties there was an insistent demand for a reduction of income and estate-tax rates. Income-tax schedules, corporate or individual, or both, were reduced in 1921, 1924, 1926, 1928 and 1929. What we did during the twenties offers an excellent guide to what not to do now.

Under the revenue act of 1918 the maximum normal tax imposed was 12 percent and the maximum surtax 65 percent. Corresponding maxima under our present law are 8 and 55 percent. The following tables show the substantial margin that still remains between the income and inheritance-tax burdens imposed here and those imposed in European countries:

COMPARISON OF INCOME TAX

(Married person, no dependents, all income from salary.)

	Percent tax to net income			
Net Income	United States	Great Britain	France	Germany
$1,000	0	0.88	3.38	7.90
2,000	0	5.57	8.51	15.84
3,000	0.07	10.38	12.20	18.11
5,000	2.0	14.22	17.15	21.59
7,500	3.4	16.29	22.02	26.02
10,000	4.8	18.62	25.25	29.89
15,000	6.8	22.95	31.26	34.46
25,000	10.08	29.47	38.04	39.78
50,000	17.20	39.30	47.43	45.13
100,000	30.1	48.10	53.65	47.44
500,000	52.72	61.58	53.93	49.49
1,000,000	57.11	63.91	53.97	49.74

Conversion units:

Great Britain, 1 pound equals	$4.86
France, 1 franc equals	.0392
Germany, 1 mark equals	.2382

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COMPARISON OF DEATH TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

(Entire estate to widow.)

Net estate before exemption	Percent of tax to net-estate: United States	Great Britain
$1,000	0	1
5,000	0	3
10,000	0	3
15,000	0	3
25,000	0	4
50,000	0	5
100,000	1.5	9
150,000	3.33	12
200,000	4.75	14
300,000	6.50	17
400,000	7.62	19
500,000	8.50	21
600,000	9.25	23
800,000	10.56	25
1,000,000	11.75	27
2,000,000	15.77	33
3,000,000	18.45	37
5,000,000	22.99	41
10,000,000	30.94	51

Conversion unit: 1 pound equals $4.86

Source: *Preliminary Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means Relative to Federal and State Taxation and Duplication Therein* (1933) p. 237.

It will be noted that these comparisons are made without regard to the present depreciation of the dollar and that were this taken into account the American taxpayer would have a still greater advantage. Even as the tables stand, it is not until the $100,000 income level is reached that our income-tax rates are half as burdensome as Great Britain's, and not until the $3 million estate level is reached that our inheritance-tax rates are half as burdensome.

It is true that the picture presented by these tables does not take into account the overlapping state taxes found in this country and not abroad. But the overlapping is largely eliminated in the case of death taxes, since the greater part of the state taxes is allowed as a credit against the federal tax. And in the case of the income tax, the federal government permits the deduction of the state income tax as an expense (or offset against income) and many of the states allow a deduction of either the state or federal income tax, or both, as an expense. The full significance of this practice will be explained in a later article.

It appears, therefore, that there is a great deal of elasticity left in the federal income and inheritance-tax rates. It is doubtful if we ever faced a situation that offered more warrant for pushing the tax system into its highest gear.

But quite aside from the matter of rates, it now seems very clear that we have reached the point where we can no longer afford the leaks and special privileges in our tax system, which have been so abundantly demonstrated to exist. To mention only one of these leaks and privileges, what about the huge volume of tax-exempt interest and tax-exempt salaries which we still permit? This and other gaps in the federal income tax will be treated in a subsequent article.

During the depression the states and their subdivisions have faced a critical financial situation. Many of them have cut expenditures to the point of seriously curtailing and hampering necessary public service. Not a few of them have turned to sales taxes during the last year, in spite of the fact that these taxes are definitely out of harmony with the national program of increasing the purchasing power of those who will buy. Both the federal and state governments need to formulate a new taxation policy and program to take care of the needs of the states. A later article will be devoted to this problem.

Finally there are certain new taxes and modifications of old ones needed to make the tax system a more effective instrument of social control. Our economic system has reached a point of instability in which no feasible weapon of social control can be ignored. A final article will consider this phase of the problem.

The National Chamber of Commerce and the National Economy League have insistently contended that high taxes—by which they mean high income and inheritance taxes—will destroy us. In the critical period which lies ahead we are far more likely to meet destruction because of too little rather than too much of the kind of taxation these groups fear. The power to tax is "not only the power to destroy but also the power to keep alive."

HAROLD M. GROVES.

This is the first of four articles by Professor Groves. The second, to appear next week, will discuss the imperative need of blocking the channels through which capital escapes from the tax gatherer.—THE EDITORS.

Morning Devotion

In the fear of death, I ask me
What is my heart's desire?
Here as I sweep the floor
And shade the sunny window
With what is it I task me?
Of heaven what implore?

Life to maintain and to increase
Like an orchard in sun
Where all's activity,
Leaf, earth and weighted tree,
Yet all resolved in one, one
Airy tranquillity.

And to maintain my soul
Content in this employ.
To bind despair and joy
Into a stable whole.
So day by day both house and spirit
tending,
Feel all's complete at day's as at
life's ending.

JANET LEWIS.

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The New Labor Progressives

EVEN BEFORE the N.R.A., when the plight of the A.F. of L. unions was becoming more tragic the longer the depression continued, there were strange signs of awakening and movement in the leadership. William Green, for example, assumed a new attitude of belligerency; opposition to federal relief for the unemployed was dropped; the new-fangled policy of siding with Hoover and Wall Street in denouncing compulsory unemployment insurance was abandoned. And after the N.R.A., of course, a conflict in the dominant group in the A.F. of L. has become even more apparent; the electrifying effect of the N.R.A. on the unions brought out more clearly the differences that had been brewing invisibly before. What happened was simple. Some of the leaders of the Federation saw that it was dying of that most deadly of organizational diseases: apathy. The increased strength that came to all organized labor with the N.R.A. gave these elements an impetus to become an effective opposition. They were leaders long entrenched in their unions, with votes, resources, experience and power; they were more successful in winning union recognition and collective bargaining by organizing the unorganized under their jurisdiction. Their spokesmen were most critical of the conduct of the N.R.A. and most vigilant in defending the right to strike and denouncing suggestions that unions be controlled by the government. They emerged from the background.

But they are not radical. At most the opposition can be said to be progressive, progressive in the sense that it demands changes which will make the movement more powerful. With John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, as head of the group, and George L. Berry, president of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, as second in rank, radicalism seems one of the charges least likely to be brought against it. Lewis, it is true, was aligned with the progressives after the War, and even opposed Gompers on a progressive platform, but with post-war prosperity he became an extreme conservative, supported Coolidge and Hoover, and has long exercised an autocratic control of union affairs, causing a scandal by his ruthlessness toward his opponents. Berry, too, back in 1917, showed progressive symptoms when he introduced and fought for a resolution that would have committed the Federation to the formation of a labor party, but since then his record also has been one of mercilessly crushing his opponents; he has been accused of misappropriating union funds and, since the War, has acted as liaison representative between the A.F. of L. and the American Legion. He even aspired to be a vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

The other leaders are scarcely radical. Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union; Frank X. Martell, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—all outstanding leaders of the new opposition group—were progressives in the post-war period. Most of them afterwards became more conservative. Howard once favored amalgamation and independent political action, but reverted to conservatism to the point of opposing compulsory unemployment insurance at the 1932 convention. As for Hillman, it is now widely known that Berry and Lewis were so favorably impressed with him that they took it upon themselves to have the Amalgamated admitted to the Federation.

Nor do the conflicts of this group with the conservatives include all issues. The Federation as a whole accepts the N.R.A., though it is critical of the results achieved thus far and of the administration of the codes. It demands more direct representation on the boards and an equal right with employers to initiate codes. It takes issue with the Roosevelt administration and others who advocate the outlawing or abridgement of strikes, and is on record for the thirty-hour week and for compulsory unemployment insurance.

New Divisions.—But here the unanimity of opinion within the Federation ends. It is significant that the difference between the old guard and the new progressives centers around changing the structure of the unions and the need for introducing new blood into the Federation Executive Council. The progressives of the period immediately after the War, who were also executives of some of the largest unions, laid less stress on internal union changes. At that time they stressed issues that were designed to perpetuate government intervention in labor relations, from which the unions profited during the War. Their demand for the Plumb Plan, nationalization of mines and government control of basic industries had a radical tinge, but in reality they were chiefly interested in such legislation because the unions would be a party to control. With the N.I.R.A. on the statute books, this is no longer an issue and the new progressives find no opposition here. They differ from the old guard on the best way to take advantage of the opportunities presented by government intervention, and favor internal union changes for this reason. With no ideological difference distinguishing them from the old guard, they have not so much developed a program as simply been more aggressive.

Popularly, the discussion centers around vertical

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r industrial unions. Officially, it has not been explicitly stated. The new progressives, seasoned politicians, are feeling their way. But in the end, the issue will reduce itself to industrial as opposed to old-fashioned trade unions. Indirectly many of the jurisdictional disputes revolve around this issue.

The Federal Labor Unions.—Closely linked with the disputes among unions as to jurisdiction over trades is the disposition of the so-called federal labor unions. In the early history of the Federation these unions were intended to serve as recruiting agencies. Where international unions did not function, the workers were to be organized into local trade unions where there were enough of one trade for that purpose, or into federal trade unions where the workers consisted of miscellaneous trades and occupations. After there were enough trade-union locals they were to be fused into an international union. Several of the international unions grew up in this way. During the War this form of organization was used primarily to provide a place for the Negro workers who were barred from international unions. With the N.R.A. the federal labor unions again became important in many of the basic and mass-production industries: auto, radio, rubber and others. On the old trade-union basis the workers in these industries come under the jurisdiction of a dozen or more international unions. During the 1918 organizing campaign of the steel workers twenty-four were involved. Over 90 percent of the workers in these industries are unskilled. They lack the old trade loyalty and consider themselves merely as workers of a particular industry. Thus they respond more readily to an appeal of an industrial union. In union politics, these federal labor unions are important nuclei of the future vertical or industrial unions. The old guard realizes this and the old trade unions are determined to dismember the federal labor unions by dividing the workers among themselves. Some of the old guard have even argued that permitting the federal labor unions to exist is an encroachment on their own property rights.

The new progressives have become the defenders of the federal labor unions. Their position is not very clear and it is uncertain how far they will really go; if the matter had been permitted to come to a vote at the last convention, the position of the progressives might have been clarified. Debate was prevented, however, and an attempt will be made to iron out the differences behind closed doors. The union alignment is complex. Those unions which have jurisdiction over workers cutting across many industries will probably want to retain the status quo. On the other hand, there are in addition to the few industrial unions a number of trade unions whose members are employed in only one industry which could be amalgamated into industrial unions more readily than the unions that are found in many industries. The latter would have to be cut into segments before being formed into industrial unions.

The support of the new progressives, then, comes primarily from the unions with limited jurisdiction, while the unions with jurisdiction cutting across many industries are aligned with the old guard. The former unions have shown greater initiative in taking advantage of the new opportunities; their membership is bound to increase, and with the support they will win from other unions that are similarly constituted as to jurisdiction, they will probably soon be able to outvote the old guard.

Future Effects.—How important is this development? At present it seems that the members of the new group are becoming the labor spokesmen and allies of the Roosevelt administration. The degree to which this alliance will be consummated depends on the way the Roosevelt administration moves. At present the more farsighted of the new progressives feel that the N.R.A. authorities cater more to the employers than to labor, and if this conviction becomes well established, these will probably follow the course of the opposition group after the War, which demanded socialization and embarked on independent political action. But President Roosevelt has demonstrated extraordinary agility. He will be forced to depend for his support on strong farmer and labor organizations to just the extent that he fails to swing big business interests with him. In that event, the administration will cater to the progressives and bring pressure on them to build a powerful union movement. It seems highly probable that most of the new progressives will be satisfied with such an alliance.

The radicals and the new membership are the elements that might prevent the progressives from either backsliding or from becoming an appendage to the Roosevelt political organization. The new members are inarticulate, but they are in a fighting mood. Their weakness is that they can easily be influenced and manipulated; and the new progressives, as practical labor leaders, are likely to yield more to the pressure of the Roosevelt administration, even to that of employers, than to that of the rank and file. With few exceptions, they will ignore the importance of educating the membership to understand that only a new social order will eliminate social inequalities and economic insecurity. There is, in the labor movement, need for a third element that will act both as an educational and clarifying factor.

In other words, there is need for a progressive and a radical opposition, but the major task of the radicals should be to educate the new members in an inalienable loyalty to labor and a radical philosophy. That the opportunity is there cannot be denied, since the new members are not bound down by the old union traditions and disciplines; and in the history of the labor movement, when masses of new members were brought in, as they are being

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brought in now, they have generally lent a sympathetic ear to the radicals.

Unfortunately the radicals are hopelessly divided. Although the old guard and the progressives are relatively cohesive forces, very few radical groups have shown the acumen to develop into a constructive opposition. Such an opposition, while being critical, would also be educational and helpful in the building of a powerful labor movement. Th most important feature of the new development is probably not the division in the A.F. of L., but the possibility that some of the radical groups in working with the new membership, may acquire an understanding of opposition tactics, and so come to influence the labor movement.

DAVID J. SAPOSS.

Kingfish to Crawfish

RIDICULE, patronage and a shouting appeal to the mass emotions of the electorate are the three weapons with which Huey P. Long has hewn his way to power in Louisiana. A brutal militancy, in which the citizen-slugging bodyguards and the constant threat of calling out the militia are prominent, has been paramount in preserving the Kingfish—not only his power, but his person.

In the past few months these bludgeons have been taken over—saving only the militia—by his political opponents, who, having learned through six snarling years the "no holts barred" method of using them, have forced the Louisiana Kingfish—or Crawfish—into an extremely deep hole. While it is unwise to forecast the imminent downfall of Huey, who has been almost continually downfalling to greater power, it is safe to assume that a weird combination of a washroom brawl, an antagonistic national administration and sundry national reëmployment devices has put him on the spot. It is also safe to assume that he is being kept firmly on that spot by the recent spontaneous display of militant and legal force in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana. The district rebelled against and outbluffed the Senior Senator in his attempt to railroad a congressional candidate, Mrs. Bolivar E. Kemp, into the seat left vacant by the death of her husband, without the mandatory white Democratic primary that is actual election in the Deep South.

During his rise to the dictatorship of Louisiana, Huey has dodged libel proceedings, impeachment, and, among other things, is even yet reported in the daily press barely to be evading apprehension for alleged income-tax evasions. From last spring to November, he and Senator John Overton of Alexandria, the staunch henchman he elected to the United States Senate, have been busy dodging with apparent success any culmination of the Senate investigation of the Overton election. Senators Connally of Texas, Logan of Kentucky and Thomas of Utah showed a startling lack of interest this fall in Investigator John Holland's thousands of pages of evidence of fraud, although Connally has since publicly deplored the "corrupt condition" of Louisiana politics and has promised a strong condemnation in his report.

Any one of these blows which Huey has avoided or is in the process of avoiding should have been sufficient to cause at least a temporary political eclipse. The failure of similar blows in the past has caused considerable gnashing of teeth. But no longer do Huey's enemies become unduly heated at the lack of success of such sledge-hammer blows.

The obvious reason is that laughter and ridicule are proving more effective. And unfortunately for Louisianians who might wish to claim the honor of discovering the power of these weapons, first and second credit must go to the East. Fiery General Samuel T. Ansell, who bearded Huey in his New Orleans den last June at the beginning of the election investigation, was the first man whom Huey ever met in open forum in Louisiana and could not best. Rough and tumble himself, Ansell called Huey name for name and then some; and ultimately gave inspiration to the new nickname, the "Crawfish," through preferring slander charges in answer to which Long first offered and then refused to waive senatorial immunity. Keith Temple, staff artist of The New Orleans Times-Picayune, caught the nation's fancy with his cartoon of a crawfish backing away into slime, and rarely today is Huey designated by the name he gave himself, the "Kingfish." The crawfish started the laughter that has not been stilled since early summer.

The second Eastern contribution was the literal blow delivered in the memorable Sands Point episode. The Crawfish had been struck before—and behind while running—by irate private citizens, by a one-legged man, by an elderly former Governor, and by a reporter at whom he flung a fighting epithet when surrounded by bodyguards. But the locale of the last event, the apparent physical effects of the blow, and the pitifully weak "Wall Street gangsters" version of the Senator, made the others insignificant. "Who Hit Huey?" has become a battle-laugh of his opponents.

Louisiana, however, contributed the crowning insults with its reception of a new tax tour, curtailed by the Senator early in November, and with the Sixth District's ballot-and-effigy-burning rebellion in December against the election of Mrs. Kemp. In November, Huey appeared in Alexandria, home city of Senator Overton, in behalf of some six new

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taxes he wants to levy on his nearly bankrupt state. There, despite the presence of fifty bodyguards, some of whom had attacked two questioning citizens in Monroe the night before, the crowd rotten-egged Huey. Significantly, not a single fight resulted in the mixed gathering of farmers and Alexandria citizens. No one came to Huey's defense. A feeble attempt by Colonel E. P. Roy, chief of the state highway police, and several of his men, to invade a building where some egg-tossers were lodged, was repulsed single-handed by Alexandria's chief of police. And throughout the barrage the crowd laughed, instead of booing. The next day Huey "temporarily" abandoned his tour and went to New Orleans for the reopening of the Overton election investigation. His ostensible purpose was to act as Overton's attorney, as he had in the spring hearing, but "Honest John" decided to represent himself. And Huey hasn't returned to the hustings since.

One might question the efficacy of ridicule alone as a means of dislodging Huey. Under his puppet Governor, O. K. Allen, the various state departments still control thousands of followers through deft dispensation of padded patronage. But powerful as is the organization that Huey heads, it is not so powerful as it once was, for Louisiana faces financial disaster after a six-year spending orgy. Overdrafts amounting to more than $3 million confront the State Treasurer. A total state indebtedness of approximately $350 million gives further proof of the precarious situation. Without new taxes Huey's machine cannot be kept in high gear. And while his organization faces disintegration because of diminishing funds, another patronage organization is rapidly being built up by his opponents through the coöperation of President Roosevelt and Postmaster General Farley.

Federal patronage in Louisiana is no small matter. There are the customs posts, the United States attorneyship with its many sinecures, United States marshalships and deputy marshalships, postmasterships, offices for home-loan, farm-loan, public-works and all the rest of the rapidly mounting federal posts. They mean jobs for men in every parish in Louisiana, and more, they mean forming a centralized patronage organization. Without exception, every federal job in Louisiana has gone to an out-and-out anti-Long Democrat. Shrewd Jim Farley has given the anti-Long men a powerful weapon, and they are using it to fullest advantage.

Huey has made no bones about his antagonism to Washington. He has bucked the Roosevelt program since its inception and could have expected nothing less than the loss of federal patronage. But he scarcely could have realized the completeness with which Roosevelt has captured the imagination of rural and urban Louisiana. Early in November, when he made his first appearance on his new tax tour, he spoke in Donaldsonville, one of his former strongholds in southeast Louisiana. Hardly had he begun to attack Roosevelt and the N.R.A. when his voice was drowned by boos. In subsequent speeches he refrained from such attacks and, instead, limited himself to expressions of doubt, and to taking credit for "my friend Roosevelt's" nomination in Chicago. But at every stop the response of the crowds to even such minor pleasantries was surly.

The answer undoubtedly is that Roosevelt's appeal to the Louisiana voting mass is as strong today as anything that corporation-baiting Huey Long ever offered. For six years various anti-Long committees have attempted vainly to combat the Crawfish. Not until the last few months have they reached a semblance of statewide crystallization with the organization in every parish of "New Deal" clubs, which are both Rooseveltian and anti-Long. Long's opponents are capitalizing on the popularity of the President, the N.R.A.'s appeal to patriotism and the evident monetary results of the relief rolls and employment on public-works projects. The same small-town day laborers and indigent farmers who built Huey's roads and swelled Huey's majorities are now chopping wood for the N.R.A. and registering for the C.W.A. Though there is an honest effort to keep these organizations non-political, it isn't dishonest to tell the workers that the man Huey is fighting is the man who made their jobs possible.

And what is Huey doing in the face of this three-edged attack of ridicule, patronage and mass emotionalism? Huey may be sinking in Louisiana, but he is looking at the nation. You can expect plenty of fireworks from the Senior Senator now that Congress has convened. His "soak-the-rich" plan of limiting incomes has its followers, including many a citizen who thinks the idea originated with Huey. And there are doubtless those who will respond to his criticism of the N.R.A., if not to his leadership. Huey can always make himself heard. And he wants to be thought the leader of the nation's masses.

But at present Huey can't get to first base on his own diamond. The Sixth District congressional rebellion is adequate proof. Since last June there has been no congressman from the Sixth. This vacancy was caused by the death of Bolivar E. Kemp, one of Louisiana's delegation, over which Huey once boasted control. His control of Kemp was at best doubtful; Kemp consistently kept on refusing to take sides in the Long battle. The Sixth District, in which lies Baton Rouge, the state capital, has always been debatable ground for Long, and has gone against him more often than for him. And so, with his power and prestige weakening through summer and fall, Huey refused to let Governor O. K. Allen call an election. This call, in keeping with Louisiana election law and custom, must be followed by a meeting of the district Democratic executive committee, to set a date for a Democratic primary thirty days before the formal election, which is only a ratification gesture in the Deep

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South. Mrs. Bolivar E. Kemp announced her candidacy for the post shortly after her husband's death. So did four other candidates, chief of whom was State Senator Jared Y. Sanders, Jr., a powerful anti-Long leader of Baton Rouge and son of former Governor J. Y. Sanders, Long's bitterest and most hated political enemy. Finally, late in November, anti-Long leaders, the majority of whom were in favor of young Sanders, announced that a citizens' mass meeting would be held in Baton Rouge on November 28 to set up machinery for an open-to-all election to be called by the people themselves.

Then Huey exploded the bombshell that finally proved to be a boomerang. The day before the citizens' mass meeting, the District Democratic committee, controlled by Long, met in New Orleans, outside the district, and, working with Governor Allen, announced that Mrs. Kemp was arbitrarily the Democratic nominee, that her name would be the only one on the ballots in the general election, simultaneously called for December 5 by Governor Allen on a prearranged move. The Sixth District literally was up in arms. The action of the Governor and committee completely shut out any other candidate by making Mrs. Kemp the party nominee without a party primary. At the mass meeting the next night in Baton Rouge, election machinery was set up for a "citizens' election" on December 27, but that business was secondary to heated "shotgun talk" by a formidable array of district anti-Long leaders. A temporary injunction was issued against the printing of the ballots, by District Judge Favrot of Baton Rouge. Huey had foreseen that, for it was divulged that ballots, bearing only Mrs. Kemp's name, had been printed in advance of the committee meeting and election call.

Then, the day before the election, the temporary restraining order was upheld in three of the five district courts in the Sixth District. This had the legal effect of outlawing the election, although the ballots themselves had been printed and sent out to the clerks of court in each parish. On the day that the district judges upheld the restraining order, Huey issued thousands of circulars, signed by an Assistant Attorney-General of the state, baldly advising the voters to pay no attention to any action taken by any judge.

That's when the real fun began. Irate citizens burned the circulars, burned thousands of the ballots which they seized from courthouses and private homes in five parishes, and burned Huey, Allen and Judge Lee Ponder, chairman of the district committee, in effigy. Young District Judge Nat B. Tycer of Hammond, commenting that "it's a poor judge that can't enforce his own ruling," swore in deputies following his decision and pledged them to uphold his ruling. Each deputy was given the right to swear in other deputies, so that on the night of December 4 there were probably a thousand armed men patrolling the polling places in the parishes of Livingston, St. Helena and Tangipahoa, home parish of Mrs. Kemp. Livingston parish deputies fired upon a state truck bringing in new ballots under state police guard to replace those burned. They also fired upon a state legislator who shouted "Hurray for Huey Long" as he drove past a group congregated on the highway to watch for other trucks. And Huey crawfished.

In the face of such opposition, a threat to call out the militia faded, highway police hastily mobilized in Baton Rouge for strategic distribution through the three rebelling parishes were disbanded, and the election was "called off" in Judge Tycer's district. In the nine parishes in which voting was allowed, Mrs. Kemp polled slightly in excess of five thousand votes, that being approximately the number of state employees in the Sixth District. The present voting strength, considerably lessened by failure of thousands to pay their poll taxes last year, is approximately 32,000.

On December 27 the Citizens' Election was held. In only one parish did the clerk of court and sheriff fail to deliver the election paraphernalia and voting lists to the parish committees named at the Baton Rouge mass meeting. Every procedure of an ordinary election was observed. Although all the candidates, including Mrs. Kemp, had been invited to participate, only the name of Senator Sanders appeared on the ballots. Mrs. Kemp, and three other candidates, whose combined following probably did not total that of either the Long or Sanders groups, refused to enter. Yet, Senator Sanders received fifteen thousand votes "for Sanders and against Long" and left for Washington two days later to contest the seat with Mrs. Kemp. Behind him the Sixth District is still laughing at the ballot and effigy burning. Mrs. Kemp's relationship to the entire affair is only incidental. The laugh is on Huey.

Huey's weekly newspaper, The American Progress, which devotes itself exclusively to criticism of the administration, millionaires and his Louisiana opponents, howled against "shotgun outlaws." Huey departed on December 28 for Washington avowedly to fight for Mrs. Kemp. But he arrived simultaneously with a statement from Speaker Rainey that the Sanders election was legal and the Kemp election illegal. Huey crawfished again. He told reporters that he wasn't going to meddle if the House wanted to recognize "shotgun elections." Mrs. Kemp, he said, wasn't any candidate of his and could fight her own battle.—It appeared that Mrs. Kemp would have to, for of seven Louisiana congressmen, Wilson, Sandlin, Dear and Montet are now definitely anti-Long, DeRouen refused to enter the Kemp controversy, and Maloney and Fernandez, counted as Long's men, did not plan to get to Washington in time for the contest.

And when Huey departed for Washington he left behind him perhaps the biggest cauldron of

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trouble yet brewed for his dosing. For swiftly and decisively the Old Regular Democratic organization of New Orleans, holding the balance of legislative and voting power in the state, broke with him late in December after an unsavory combine dating back to Huey's senatorial victory over doddering Senator Joseph Ransdell. The Old Regulars' past and present are as besmirched as that of Tammany, and their hold upon New Orleans up till now as strong as ever was the Tiger's before LaGuardia. Following Huey's victory over Ransdell, and incidentally over themselves, they capitulated, and the two organizations formed a mutual-benefit society that functioned ruthlessly and efficiently until this fall. Now Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley and Huey, never personally friendly, are at war over the New Orleans mayoralty campaign late in January. The Old Regulars refused to let Long name any candidate on the city slate. They also refused to knife District Attorney Eugene Stanley, elected four years ago as an Old Regular, but an honest, efficient man whose election-fraud exposures and prosecutions have struck at Old Regulars and Long men alike. So Huey put a hastily gathered slate into the field before going to Washington. An independent reform ticket, also backing Stanley, headed by Public Service Commissioner Francis T. Williams, is blazing away at both Walmsley's and Long's tickets. And the chances are bright for Williams to trim both Long and the city ring. At any rate, political observers give Huey only a poor third in the city fight.

Yet, let it be repeated that it is unsafe to predict what is going to happen to Huey. A congressional district may be rejoicing over a successful rebellion. Yet he still has his sound trucks. His antics of the summer and fall may have brought him to complete ridicule. Yet his printing presses are still functioning. His "unholy alliance" with the New Orleans ring may have crumbled, but he still has his seemingly limitless funds, partly made possible by forced levies upon the salaries of every state employee. The personal popularity of a President and the political astuteness of a patronage dispenser may have backed him against the wall, but he still runs the state departments of Louisiana, and a formerly docile legislature may again vote him new taxes, despite the militant opposition of the New Deal clubs. And despite his "free school books," Louisiana is still one of the most illiterate states, a factor upon which Huey has relied heavily in his every appeal to arrogant ignorance.

One can forecast with fair certainty, however, that Huey can expect at best only a stalemate in Louisiana in 1934, and that his artificially stimulated and seemingly tireless energy will be expended in national pronouncements. He isn't down yet. As long as there are prejudices to appeal to, as long as the voting mass can be swayed by a demagogue preaching discontent and hitting below the belt at the easiest targets, Huey P. Long will be up and about.

HODDING CARTER.

Pan-Americana

WITH THE Pan-American Conference at Montevideo now solely a matter of history, the temptation is to feel that, like all such conferences, it was mostly a river of words. In close aftermath nothing ever seems to be done at these things. But two items remain in my memory which seem to illustrate something about the state of the world and the state of Latin America. The first is a fact; the second a story.

The fact concerns Mexico's bid for economic independence, brought before the floor of the Conference by Dr. Puig. Although the bid was altogether lacking in heroic quality, it dramatically illustrated Mexico's isolation. But first a word about the background.

It is wholly misleading to assert that the meeting at Montevideo was really an international conference at all. What really assembled there was a gathering something like one of Great Britain's quadrennial Imperial Conferences. The ABC countries, Argentina, Brazil and Chile, correspond to the self-governing dominions like Canada and Australia. Below these in rank come the Crown colonies possessing local autonomy, like Venezuela, for example. At the bottom you find the simple protectorates, for instance Haiti, administered by our Division of Latin American Affairs.

It was possible, even, to draw a certain parallel between Mexico and Ireland, and between Dr. Puig and President De Valera. Both Dr. Puig and President De Valera announce themselves resolved to bring about the end of the control of foreign capital over the day-by-day life of their respective countries. You will recall that at the last Imperial Conference, held at Ottawa, the Irish delegation attempted to gain the support of Canada, Australia and the other dominions, and was repulsed. Similarly, at Montevideo, Dr. Puig was repulsed by the countries of Latin America.

The truth of the matter is that so far as the Americas are concerned, the United States is a permanent majority of one. The governing classes of the rest of the continent, whatever they may say for home consumption, have no intention of cutting loose from our policies or crossing our will. They want too dearly to sell us goods and, even yet, to borrow our money. And so at Montevideo there was no opposition. There was only Mexico.

From 1915 to 1923, Mexico was going through a social revolution, during which it was impossible for it to meet interest payments on its external debt or to contract new loans. Since the revolution, Mexico has been forced to obtain two moratoria. For eighteen years Mexico has been unable to borrow new foreign money and has had to depend on itself. Because of this, Mexico is slowly achieving a degree of economic self-reliance, but it has come about by accident—not by deliberate policy.

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The detailed projects which Dr. Puig brought to Montevideo were naïve and badly presented. Mexico's second moratorium on its external debt was to expire January 1, 1934, and the first of Dr. Puig's proposals was a general moratorium for all Latin America for another five years, or until 1939. It was easy for the United States delegation to say sneeringly that Mexico had no real interest in Latin American independence, but simply wished once more to sneak out of paying its own just debts. Another proposal of Mexico, the work of a young economist named Constantine Perez Duarte, was an extremely roundabout scheme for raising the price of silver.

But the clumsiness of Dr. Puig's proposals had very little to do with his defeat. Essentially he was proposing a revolt against the international bankers. The Argentinian Foreign Minister, Señor Saavedra Lamas, was in the midst of delicate negotiations with London financial interests, and it was important to him to let the world know how heartily he disapproved of Mexico's subversive proposals. Upon Señor Saavedra Lamas' motion, Dr. Puig's projects were referred, en bloc, to the Inter-American High Commission, a defunct body the last meeting of which was held in 1917, and Dr. Puig was licked. Nevertheless, in this correspondent's opinion, Puig was the most vital man at Montevideo, and Mexico the most hopeful country. On the other hand, the interesting fact remains that midway through the Conference Mexico, too, appeared to step into line behind the United States.

The story I spoke of is a matter of devilish abstractions and, perhaps, personal devils. It concerns the interminable Chaco war, now supposedly ended by an overwhelming victory by the Paraguayans. But it has been supposedly ended several times before. The story of what really happened is an interesting contrast between convenient, popular and apparently plausible theory, and inconvenient, all-too-human fact.

South American intellectuals, without exception, believe that the Chaco war has been in reality a struggle between the United States and Britain. On the western, or Bolivian, side of the Chaco is an oil field now owned by Standard Oil interests. This field, although small in extent, produces oil of a remarkably high grade. The most practicable way to exploit it would be to build a pipe line across the Chaco to the Paraguay River.

Established in Paraguay you find the Mihanovich company, subsidiary of the British Royal Mail. The Mihanovich concern operates steamboats on the Paraguay River, possesses extensive interests of all sorts in Paraguay and has extremely close relations with the Paraguayan government. To South American intellectuals, these circumstances provide a complete explanation of the Chaco war. The Mihanovich company, they argue, is naturally opposed to American interests gaining a foothold on the Paraguay River. The Standard Oil realizes that, because of the Mihanovich company's influence, it cannot hope to gain permission from the Paraguayan government to construct its pipe line through the Chaco to the Paraguay River. Consequently the Standard Oil, two and a half years ago, incited the Bolivian government to attempt to seize the northern Chaco, together with a port on the Paraguay, by force of arms.

While this is a very neat hypothesis, the plain fact seems to be that the Paraguayan government has already, on several occasions, offered the Standard Oil a concession for a pipe line across the Chaco, and that the Standard Oil has refused on the ground that a pipe line would be extremely costly to construct, and that oil carried by it could not compete with oil now brought from the Caribbean by tanker.

A more obvious explanation of the Chaco war is sheer militarism. The story starts with two extremely romantic men, a Bolivian Indian *cholo*, Simon Patiño, and a German soldier of fortune, Hans Kundt. Patiño, years ago, stumbled upon a lead mine, and by sheer force of character managed to prevent white men from stealing it from him. He is supposed to be able neither to read nor to write, and to be the richest man in South America. In 1924, he sold a part of his interests to the American National Lead Company for $30 million. Among other fantastic acts, he has built himself a million-dollar marble tomb, in execrable taste, out in the lonely Bolivian Andes.

Kundt was in Bolivia before the World War. He returned to Europe to fight for Germany from 1914 to 1918, and afterwards reëmigrated to South America to become a Bolivian Ludendorff. He set Indian youths, in cotton shorts, to goose-stepping around the shores of Lake Titicaca, and created the finest military machine on the continent. Following his master Ludendorff, Kundt worked through a group of young staff officers, and gave the regular army generals scant consideration. In 1930, a junta of generals revolted and drove Kundt from the country.

For several years, Kundt had been carrying on a tentative little border war in the Chaco, always edging the Paraguayan patrols southward, and knowing perfectly well that lack of communications made a war en masse suicidal. As soon as Kundt was out of the country, the Bolivian generals seized upon his highly articulated war machine and, understanding nothing of its limitations, flung it into the Chaco jungles and wrecked it. Exiled to Europe, Kundt reached an understanding with Patiño whereby Patiño was to furnish the money to continue the war, and Kundt was to return to extricate his army. Since his return, Kundt has been responsible for the deaths in battle or by disease of many thousand young Bolivian Indians. Now he has failed. There are ugly rumors that the Indian soldiers will never permit him to leave Bolivia alive.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Montevideo, Uruguay.

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Washington Notes

Good News for the Liberals—Bailie Goes Back to Wall Street—The Minnesota Decision

WITH A colorless and flavorless Congress more or less marking time until it gets specific orders, there has been an absence of excitement or interest on the Hill since the two presidential messages. However, the rather perfunctory and slow turning of the legislative wheels does not mean there have not been important and significant happenings within the past few days. There have. As a result, the truly liberal element within the administration, which for a while was somewhat depressed at the White House middle-of-the-road tendency, has been genuinely encouraged. Though by the time this is printed even the echoes will have died out of the daily press, it seems worth while to recite them now, in the order of their occurrence rather than in that of their importance.

First, there was the resignation of Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau's Special Assistant, Mr. Earle Bailie. Mr. Morgenthau, who is without technical experience in finance himself, had turned to this personal friend as an adviser. The situation was such that Mr. Bailie had become his chief adviser, with more power over fiscal policies than anyone else. Inasmuch as Mr. Bailie is a member of the firm of J. and W. Seligman and Company, and had figured most conspicuously in the Senate Banking Committee hearings, his position greatly disturbed members of that Committee as well as friends of the President, who believe his greatest popular asset is complete freedom from the Wall Street influence. The Seligman firm, it was disclosed at the hearings, had floated large issues of South American bonds, now in default, and on one occasion had paid a fee of $480,000 to the son of the President of one of the countries whose securities it offered the public.

While there was no direct threat that if Mr. Bailie did not resign Mr. Morgenthau would not be confirmed, the attitude of Senator Couzens and others amounted to that. The White House, meaning the President personally, I am reliably informed, tried without success to straighten out the opposition. It could not be straightened out. Mr. Bailie resigned, under fire, and goes back to his banking firm, leaving Mr. Morgenthau temporarily without a technical adviser in whom he has confidence. Any day now, announcement of the selection of an Under-secretary of the Treasury is expected, but it is at least assured he will not be a man from the particular group to which Mr. Bailie belongs. Of course, the selection of Bailie was a piece of bad judgment and his retention, under the circumstances, would have impaired confidence in the whole program. The liberals around the President felt that he was well out of what might have developed into a most unfortunate state of affairs.

The second gratifying event, from the liberal angle, was the rescinding by the President of the executive order by which he placed Budget Director Lewis W. Douglas in complete control of all emergency expenditures. This meant that neither the A.A.A., the C.W.A., the P.W.A. nor any other governmental agency of the New Deal could expend a nickel without Mr. Douglas' approval. In view of the well known fact that Mr. Douglas is wholly out of sympathy with the major features of the Recovery program, particularly with the public-works end of it, the placing of this power in his hands created an intolerable situation within the administration. The protest was prompt and forceful. It came not only from Mr. Ickes, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Hopkins, the three men most directly affected, but from some of the most important of the professorial group. Exactly what it meant was made clear to the President. He was told in the plainest language—at least such is the story—that his order put into the hands of a man known to be hostile to the program the power to handicap it. It was not charged that Mr. Douglas would deliberately do this, as nearly everyone gives him credit for personal loyalty to Mr. Roosevelt and for a willingness to subordinate his personal views. The point made, however, was that the mere placing of such power was a mistake that could hardly fail to slow down the public and civil-works programs just at the time when they should be speeded up. At any rate, the President swung around, and in less than four days had so modified the order that Douglas' authority is not extended nor the picture changed.

Exactly what inspired Mr. Roosevelt to promulgate such an order in the first place is uncertain. I do not share the view that Mr. Douglas himself was the inspiration. Rather, I think, it came from certain senatorial friends of the President, who impressed him with the alleged necessity of some gesture that would satisfy the conservatives in Congress, who are deeply alarmed by the size of the deficit and the prospect of a $31,800 million debt in 1936. Had the order remained in force, there is reason to believe the President would have had a real revolt in his official family, with some resignations. The outcome, of course, makes Mr. Douglas' position a little more painful, but then it certainly has been anything but comfortable for some time. The reports of his early retirement have again been revived but there is apparently no real belief in them. Obviously, his isolation does not greatly trouble the Budget Director. In the early days of the administration he was recognized as one of the "inner circle" of White House advisers. He saw the President every day. Now he sometimes does not see him for several weeks. That suits the liberal group, but is hardly conducive to Douglas' happiness.

Of course, the third of the events which caused general liberal rejoicing was the Supreme Court's decision in the Minnesota Moratorium case. While the opinion was not from a unanimous court and while it applies only to one state, concededly it shows a liberal majority for the present emergency program. This will have a widespread effect. The best way of judging the decision is to consider what would have been the effect of an adverse one. Unquestionably, it would have caused immediate questioning of the legality of the larger part of the Recovery program. It would have stimulated the opponents of the New Deal everywhere, encouraged opposition and made it more difficult for the administration to proceed boldly along the lines laid down. As it stands, the decision has created the popular impression that the Supreme Court sees no unconstitutionality in the Roosevelt program. Apparently the fears

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that the New Deal might be upset by the Court before the fullest trial were not well founded.

On the conservative side it is pointed out that the Court emphatically stated that it viewed the program as a temporary and not a permanent proposition; that its opinion would have been different if it did not contemplate an end of the emergency legislation when the emergency that called it forth had ended. Hardly anyone doubts that a considerable part of the program is bound to be permanent, but the Court did not have to face that issue and was concerned only with statutes admittedly of temporary character. It can hardly be denied that the decision has strengthened the New Deal and stimulated its sponsors and operators.

Altogether, it was a good week for the liberal element here. Not the least cause of their gratification is belief that the Court's decision will encourage the President to continue more consistently along liberal lines and make his baffling swings to the right less frequently. Such swinging, first toward one side, then toward the other, is characteristic of the President. It is exasperating to the more earnest of his friends in both camps but it has its political advantages. Personally, I do not believe Mr. Roosevelt performs in this way because of his political shrewdness or for a political purpose. It is simply that he is intellectually too sympathetic in too many directions. He likes to regard himself as a real liberal, and certainly he has considerable reason for doing so. But at times his congenital conservatism wells up and advice from his more orthodox counselors impresses him. In other words, he is not entirely stable in his convictions.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

How Much for Arkansas?—A Threat to Housing—Old Dealers of the New Deal

THOSE who think the Securities Act is somewhat too exacting would do well to consider the experience of the trusting souls who bought, not the stocks and bonds of the Kreuger and Insull companies, but the bonds of the sovereign state of Arkansas. After all, it is to be supposed that buyers of bonds accept with some assurance the statements of fact made by reputable bankers when selling the bonds.

The state of Arkansas issued two sets of bonds. One of these was put out in 1929 and the other in the following year. Arkansas is mainly an agricultural state, and no one is under any misapprehension, now at least, as to the state of agriculture in those two years. When the first issue of $28 million was offered to the public, the bankers —Halsey, Stuart and Company—declared in the circular describing the bonds that the actual estimated value of Arkansas real estate was $1,219,441,326. These were 1928 figures. The actual official assessed valuation was given as about one-half this sum.

Then came the crash of 1929. Of course, now we know it was a crash. In 1930 the population was being assured by Mr. Hoover that it was just a little readjustment and that the storm had about blown over. Productive business had gone down and so had almost all other kinds of business. But these unpleasant facts were not reported too conspicuously. What were reported were the glowing forecasts of all sorts of boosters. In this year, 1930, Halsey, Stuart and Company managed another issue of bonds for the state of Arkansas—$18 million worth for highway purposes. Once again their circular described the great values in Arkansas. This new circular now set out the actual value of Arkansas wealth. Now, however, it was put down at $3,000 million, or more than twice what it had been in 1928. The actual official assessment was set down as $1,248,649,700.

Was this true or not? Its truth or falsity was a matter of grave concern to prospective investors. Perhaps it was true. But at least the United States Department of Commerce did not agree with it. In that year the Statistical Abstract gave the assessed value of Arkansas as just about one-half the figure used by the bankers.

Bond buyers all over the country bought these bonds. Now the bonds are in default and the state of Arkansas is struggling with the problem.

Are bankers and other persons responsible for issuing securities to be permitted to make statements like this? The Securities Act, at least in the case of corporate securities, undertakes to hold bankers, directors and officials responsible for statements of fact, like this, which they may make in order to sell their securities. What possible objection can there be to that? This is the Act that Wall Street is now straining every nerve to amend. The amendments they propose are designed to emasculate the Act. Will they succeed?

An ominous report found its way into The New York World-Telegram last week. It was to the effect that the President is preparing to scrap the proposed housing program. It is difficult to believe that this is true. And yet the budget seems to give a good deal of credence to the report. No sufficient sum of money has been provided to permit an expansion of the housing program.

Building low-cost houses for workers in the lower income brackets is the one form of government activity that would put money into the channel of trade as fresh income without involving the government in a spending program. Money put into houses would be invested, not spent. It would put countless thousands of men to work in the capital-goods industries, it would produce something that the nation sorely lacks, and every dollar would come back to the government through amortization arrangements. Yet this program is now imperiled. The report is a most depressing one.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has published figures from 279 cities. In the last three years the number of families in these cities increased by 750,000. But only one-third this number of new residential dwelling units were built. The pretense that we already have too many dwellings is ridiculous. We have hundreds of thousands, millions, of dwellings that should have been destroyed twenty years ago. This is the greatest unexploited market in the world. To fret about foreign markets while this vast field for business lies idle in America is an act of almost unbelievable stupidity.

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Mr. Earle Bailie, of the firm of J. and W. Seligman, Wall Street bankers, has been swept out of the Treasury Department. A great protest arose over Bailie's appointment because of his prominence in a banking firm that had been connected with the worst features of South American financing. That Mr. Morgenthau should have named this man showed a singular lack of perception of the forces at work in this country. That the President should have tolerated the appointment after it was called to his attention showed a strange reaction by an executive who in his inaugural address promised to drive the money changers from the temple. It must be remembered, however, that Mr. Bailie was not let out by Mr. Morgenthau. Nor did he resign of his own free will. The move was necessary to prevent an eruption in the Senate. Senator James Couzens of Michigan had protested to the President and the Secretary of the Treasury without avail. It was only when Morgenthau's confirmation became involved and Couzens threatened an open revolt that Bailie got out. This much must be added. Bailie is not the only member of the Old Deal who has been "invited into the New Deal." There are a good many more down there. We shall see how long they last before we talk about it further.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

The Assault on the Battery

WHAT DOES it signify, this restless tendency among the ultra-modern composers to turn to instruments of percussion for expression, to augment and intensively exploit the pulsatile choir, and crown it, as it were, king of the orchestra? To what motives shall we ascribe the odd assault? Tears from the depths of undivine despairs? It is certainly one of the characteristics of the period: Varèse, who, in the score of his "Ionization," has done the unprecedented deed of confiding a piece exclusively to the instruments of the battery, and the non-melodic ones at that, has merely in so doing given extreme expression to a tendency he shares with almost the entire musically creative contemporaneous band.

Whatever the impulse making for the rise of percussive music is, it is certainly new, and not a survival of any one of those which made the late-romanticists start the process of spreading the percussion-choir beyond the limits previously assigned to it. What impelled certain of these French and Russian tone-poets to multiply the number of the drums in their orchestras, was the desire to produce oriental and barbaric color; and that has long since passed. What inspired Mahler and Strauss to introduce instruments such as cowbells into their symphonies, and Strauss to call for whips in the orchestra of "Elektra," was the wish for realistic effects; and that, too, has failed. So also has the general movement toward dynamic expansion, culminating in the titanic ensembles of Strauss, Mahler, the early Schönberg, Holst and the earlier Varèse, which stirred composers to the augmenting of their batteries, with the end of making them the equal of the customary three choirs of the strings, the woodwind and the brass. Indeed, the tendency to which we have special reference—expressed not only in an augmented but in a fantastically constituted battery, and of pulsatile effects prolific—whatever its origin, is actually successive to these largely pre-war movements. The percussive experiments of Pratella and his Futurists, though previous to 1914, are not of course to be taken into account, for they were sheerly theoretical, and empty.

It was, in fact, as late as 1917 that Stravinsky, who had astonished the musical world with his interlude for snare-drums in "Petrushka," gave the instrumental portion of the score of "Les Noces" to an orchestra composed of pianos and an aggregation of non-melodic bars and surfaces. It was at the time of the Armistice that he took a further step, and assigned whole blocks of "L'Histoire du Soldat," the diabolic finale, for example, to the battery alone. And while Stravinsky went no further, Milhaud none the less did, particularly during his good period in the early twenties. One of the interludes of his setting of the "Choepheroi" is for percussion solo. And both the scores of "L'Homme et Son Désir" and "La Creation du Monde" are full of the pulsatile effects of the Brazilian jazz-bands: the last piece, most victoriously so. Again, it was in 1924 that Varèse, in writing "Hyperprism," set up a novel orchestra in which the percussion predominated over the melodic instruments at the ratio of seventeen to nine. Even more lately, Milhaud followed by writing a concerto for orchestra which assigned the lead to the pulsatiles. The striking percussive effects in Comrade Shostakovitch's movie-music are of still more recent date; and one of this young Russian's very latest works, a setting for Gogol's "The Nose," is distinguished by a further exploitation of the percussion in the form of an interlude and stage music.

While certain of the compositions named above, in particular one or two of the earlier ones, such as "Les Noces" and "La Création du Monde," may possibly be considered after-crops of the "primitivism" related to the late-romantic "barbarism," the majority of them, especially those of later date, may not. The kingdom of the percussion throughout them is to be attributed to some other than primitivistic tendencies. In a way, the whole phenomenon may be laid to the account of pressing external circumstances; among them, the virtuosic exploitation of the battery in the post-war jazz-bands which incidentally revealed musical possibilities in pulsatile instruments. Material considerations must also be held partially accountable, since percussive means are economical of man power, one player being able to manage several of the instruments. The forty-two pieces called for by the score of Varèse's "Ionization," for example, require only thirteen executants. The gradual familiarization with the resources of the vibratory bars and surfaces through their coloristic and realistic uses has probably also been influential on composers: it is but natural that a musician who begins by using a drum to accentuate rhythm should in the course of time come to think directly in terms of this once auxiliary instrument. But these external causes cannot be held entirely responsible for the developed role of the percussion, since only to some subjective motive, some feeling related to the means themselves, can the ability to make the most of the special opportunity exhibited by the composers be credited. This subjective motive, this feeling, would appear to be in the first place a certain unlyrical disposition characteristic of our time and favorable to the exploitation of instruments far less humanly vibratory than strings or brass or woodwinds; and in the second, some sort of mystical materialism, some feel-

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ing of the homogeneity of mind and matter, which would grasp at the brute, indeterminate, material sonorities as its proper medium of expression.

The latter, the mystically materialistic motive, is certainly Varèse's. All along he has been a conscious mystic of the sounds of the gongs, the whistles, the sirens and horns which float in the air of the great industrial centers; quite in the sense that the pre-war Picasso was the mystic of the visual sensations of city landscapes, housewalls, billboards and newspapers; and the pre-war Stravinsky the mystic of the machine and its rhythms. Like the whole Guillaume Apollinaire group of which he is the last faithful member, Varèse is put in touch with something universal through the accidents of man-made Nature. And his mystical-materialistic motive is probably also at work in other of his fellow percussionists, along with the anti-lyrical impulsion. One finds it at the root of other than musical works; indeed it remains, very fortunately, one of the strongest motives of the art of our epoch. Thus the reign of the timpani in place of the romantic trumpets.

PAUL ROSENFELD.

CORRESPONDENCE

How to Help the Consumer

SIR: One reads with interest in your columns of the New Deal for the consumer. So far, it has been the most unsatisfactory part of the government program. Under present N.R.A. arrangements, lacking foreign competition and anti-trust act deterrents and lacking consumer controls, we are all set for fly-away prices at the first quickening of demand, with the consumer left gaping and dumbfounded far below. The whole national effort is in danger of bogging down unless we can think more boldly about this problem and plan more drastic action than seems to be contemplated.

I suggest the following New Deal for the consumer:

1. Emergency fixing of maximum retail prices. It is widely assumed that by controlling the margin of profit we can assure a fair retail price. I doubt this unless there are uniform accounting methods so that we can determine with speed and certainty what the profits actually are. And it seems to me, speaking as a sociologist and not a cost accountant, that it may require several years to put into operation uniform accounting methods in the major industries. We can't wait that long. Also, *price* may determine *costs,* within limits of course, rather than costs determining price. By gradually reducing maximum prices an orderly liquidation of marginal firms will take place to the great benefit of the consumer.

2. Control of Patents. It is frequently stated that many socially useful patents are locked up in a safe. No one seems to know exactly what the facts are. At any rate there is no reason why patent applications should not be acted upon quickly and all patents be subject to frequent review. Those not being used broadly in the public interest should be canceled. If there is an electric-light globe that uses one-third the current, let's have it.

3. Public Utility Action. This falls into two parts. First, broaden the definition. Let milk, oil, coal and other articles be included in order that basic needs may be satisfied at less cost and natural resources conserved. Second, effective federal control. Just as the railroads were brought into line, in a measure, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, so electric and other utilities should be federally controlled and the farce of state regulation ended.

4. Information. To this almost everyone agrees. It is vitally important—as far as it goes. Quality, quantity and price information is needed. Adequate index numbers of retail prices and cost of living should be published. Every *serious* study by a governmental agency should be available to the public. And all widely used but deceptive articles should have prominent labels. Why shouldn't I know how much shoddy and cotton waste a "woolen" overcoat contains?

Protecting the consumer in a country where he is largely unorganized and only vaguely aware of his own interests requires an alert and aggressive organization with a high degree of flexibility in action.

Philadelphia, Pa. HUGH CARTER.

The National Student League Protests

SIR: There appeared in the last issue of The New Republic an article by Eunice Clark on the recent student conference in Washington. Because of a wrong emphasis, the article fails to make clear what was actually accomplished.

Miss Clark missed the significance of the Washington conference mainly because, as a sponsor of the Young America movement, she is unwilling to bother with anything short of the complete abolition of the "profit system." From this standpoint she regards the efforts of the National Student League in the direction of student unity on the basis of vital immediate issues as being to no purpose. "Their wordy protesting is directed more against the effects of our economic system, war, race discrimination, retrenchment in education, than against the central cancer." (It should be pointed out in passing that to characterize plans for action, as Miss Clark does again and again, simply as "protesting resolutions" or "wordy protesting" is scarcely fair to the active record of the National Student League.)

The argument against fighting for immediate demands is sufficiently old and discredited not to warrant detailed refutation here. One need merely point out its potential strike-breaking qualities and its disregard of the elementary causal relationship that people come to oppose the system because they are at first opposed to its effects.

The proposals of the National Student League for a program of action are elsewhere labeled "canned dogmas" by Miss Clark. As opposed to these "canned dogmas"—the struggle against military training, against retrenchment in education, the fight for Negro equality—Miss Clark and her group champion the magic formula, echoed from their spokesman at the Politics Conference, of a "functional working organization of young people . . . to train leaders for the management of a coöperative state."

This is all so nice and genteel—as opposed to the N.S.L. which behaves so badly. We need not bother with the effects of capitalism. We can concentrate on the "positive appeal" and simply train "brain and muscle for the change that will come inevitably and in a fashion not presaged by European experience."

At the end of the article a note of warning is struck. "Unless something happens quickly to the enlightened students, they will, by their irrealism, turn their classmates into Storm Troopers." Yet the realism which Miss Clark and her group counsel amounts to the following: Don't fight the R.O.T.C. since you will antagonize some people, don't oppose the closing down of schools and firing of teachers since you will incur the enmity of others, don't fight for racial equality since lots of people won't like you for that. On the other hand, you can persuade almost everyone to agree with your opposition to the profit system and no one will object to your training leaders for the management of a coöperative state.

In reply, it should be pointed out that the N.S.L. is fully aware of the danger of fascism. This realization is one of the main reasons for the offer of amalgamation made by the National Student League to the League for Industrial Democracy and for its proposals at the Politics conference.

The main thing about the National Student League convention —Miss Clark disposes of it in one short sentence, although it included delegates from sixty colleges and thirty high schools, whereas those who attended the Politics conference came simply as individuals—was the formulation of plans for action. The importance of the Politics conference was that it adopted these same proposals, although they were somewhat watered down because the L.I.D. failed to keep its working agreement with the N.S.L. This was,

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nevertheless, a considerable victory for student unity and for the fight against fascism in the colleges.

For the best way to fight fascism is to cement the widest possible student opposition to present conditions. Where differences of interest are fundamental, however, it is foolish to hope for complete unanimity; some hostility is sure to crystallize.

In fighting fascism it should be pointed out—at the risk of violating Miss Clark's injunction on historical precedents—that fascism, despite Miss Clark's assertion to the contrary, seldom arises directly from sources which are openly reactionary. In its initial stages it adopts a certain revolutionary jargon, including even denunciations of the "profit system." It always posits an extreme national exceptionalism and invariably tries to suppress the fight for immediate demands in the name of the "positive appeal" of a supposed common good.

New York City. EDMUND STEVENS.

Profits and Production

SIR: I should be interested to know on what production figures you base the arguments of your article "Profits under the N. R. A." [The New Republic, December 13]. I have at hand the index of industrial production prepared by Standard Statistics Company, Inc., corrected for seasonal variation, which may be compared with the profit figures quoted by you as follows:

	Profits ($ million)	*Production Index*
1933, First quarter ..	— 14.8	59.3
" Second quarter .	+ 86.9	77.3
" Third quarter .	+129.6	89.9

I can claim no special value for this production index, but it certainly shows the general trend—that is that production and profits move together under private capitalism. Your whole argument is based on the statement that production decreased in the third quarter of this year, but you fail to back this by figures, surely rather a dangerous proceeding.

Finally you make the statement that more is to be gained *by the community* through low prices and high wages. I wholeheartedly agree. But unfortunately the system of private capitalism—whose continued existence the present administration apparently approves—is concerned not with the community's gain but only with the gain of private capitalist concerns. And there comes the rub! . . .

May I in conclusion congratulate you in your paper? It really has given me, an English socialist, a better insight into political events here than all the ponderous library books and pontifical newspaper articles I have read since I have been here.

New York City. E. A. RADICE.

[The editorial stated that production *was increasing* in the second quarter and *was decreasing* in the third. The monthly index of industrial production of the Federal Reserve Board reveals this to be true. The main argument based upon these figures, combined with the figures showing that profits were much greater in the third period than in the second, was that conservatives were wrong in saying that in order to increase production, larger profits must be allowed. In spite of the larger profits, production had a downward trend in the third quarter. The editorial also stated that, although sufficient evidence was not at hand to prove it, we believed that the margin between costs and selling prices, or the profit per unit, had been increased in the third quarter. This belief is founded on the fact that whereas production for the third quarter as a whole was about 14 percent greater than for the second quarter, profits were 50 percent greater.—THE EDITORS.]

Electrifying America

SIR: I have just read the article by John T. Moutoux, "A Setback for the Power Trust" [The New Republic, December 27]. Why this fiendish glee over the fact that great industries are being wrecked and tens of thousands of small investors suffering loss? And is it any more ethical for the government to use taxes collected in New Jersey and New York in order to provide "cheap power" for the people of the South than for Mr. Wiggin to use his depositors' money as he did? If so, why?

"Director Lilienthal is spreading the gospel of cheap power throughout the South." Does he tell the Southerners that if their taxes go up to pay for this power it may not be cheap at all, but more expensive than it is now? Does he warn them that they will have no redress if they get poor service, and that government-operated businesses are notoriously and historically inefficient?

"He has set as the goal of the T.V.A. the electrification of America." The New Republic is delighted, the magazine which champions the poor and the downtrodden. Have you not even one small tear for the taxpayers, who see their money being used to provide ruinous competition for the industries in which they have invested their lives' savings?

Attack the Insulls if you like; they deserve it. At the same time please be fair and acknowledge the obvious fact that the money lost by honest investors through the machinations of Insull and his ilk are but a drop in the bucket compared to what they will lose if Director Lilienthal and The New Republic have their way.

H. G. MAXWELL.

Princeton, N. J.

[Our correspondent is in error in assuming that taxpayers's money is being used or will be used to subsidize the government's power projects. The investment is being financed by bond issues, and the accounting is carefully set up so that all costs will be covered by payments from users of the service. The Power Authority will even make payments to the states concerned, in lieu of taxes these states would receive were the new plants privately owned. Power will be cheaper to the public because, and only because, government operation is at least as efficient as private; is not subject to the reckless profiteering that keeps private power rates high; and will follow the intelligent policy of seeking large domestic consumption at low rates, rather than limiting such consumption by high rates, as the private companies have done. Our correspondent is also mistaken in his belief concerning the efficiency of government power projects. Plenty of proof has been presented in The New Republic and elsewhere that they are notoriously and historically more efficient than private power companies. If the private companies can be enough more efficient than the public to earn a moderate profit above costs, while charging the same low rates, they will have little to fear from public competition. Regulation having failed to bring about this result, public competition is being tried instead.—THE EDITORS.]

Extracts from Letters

THE Friends of the Soviet Union write us that they will hold a national convention in New York City, January 26 to 28. Maxim Gorky will be the guest of honor.

Miss Mary Kelsey, writing of the students' conference held last fall at Honfleur, France, mentions the surprise with which she and the generation of wartime radicals found themselves face to face with the new radicals of today. The younger people at the conference were, "everyone, in favor of dictatorship. The old faith in the sacredness of human liberty was nonexistent. It was not even a theory open to speculation. Personal liberty had brought them nothing but negation. The group stood, to be sure, for the dictatorship of the Left, with the avowed aim of the improvement of the situation of the masses, but even for the masses there was no aspiration for freedom other than that of freedom from enslavement to material need. They were as willing to deny moral or intellectual freedom to the masses as was the group that stood for the other type of dictatorship, that of the Fascists. No one of them in their inexperience had any realization of what they were ready to sacrifice so lightly, nor of the long and painful struggle by which it had been attained. Broadly, their attitude was that of antagonism against every existing institution; and their antagonism was entirely reasonable. They saw with unclouded eyes the complete ineffectiveness of the institutions and governments, the moral code of the older generation and the family itself. What they demanded was a new world."

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Days Without End

Days Without End, by Eugene O'Neill. Henry Miller's Theatre, January 8, 1934.

THE NEW play of Mr. Eugene O'Neill's will no doubt be commonly spoken of by some as surprising, by others as marking a turning point, or at least a milestone, in Mr. O'Neill's career. The motif of surprise will be to ask who would have imagined Eugene O'Neill writing a play in which a man through trial, suffering and submission is redeemed at last and brought through love to the cross of Jesus. The motif of the turning point will be to say that this dramatist has here, in this play, recorded a change in himself and his dramatic theses.

The story of "Days Without End," described as a modern miracle play, begins with John Loving, his evil or doubting self, his "damned soul," sitting behind him. We learn that John, though he loves his wife to the depths of all love, has, during her absence from town, been unfaithful to her with their woman friend, whose husband's adulteries are notorious. John is writing a novel in which he describes his hero's first fifteen years in a home based on piety and love, the illness of the parents, the boy's prayers, their deaths from influenza that goes into pneumonia, his loss of the sense of God's love. Meanwhile, there has been a priest uncle, the boy's guardian, reading his letters, patient, giving him rope. This same person is then unexpectedly announced. When they discuss the novel it transpires that the end records an infidelity, and the problem of whether the wife shall die or not. In another scene the other woman visits the wife, Elsa. She describes herself, her life, and the degradation with a man she does not name. The parallel between fiction and life brings Elsa to death's door, then forgiveness, and John returns to God and love.

This outline, though absurdly meager, is necessary, since it is the story that most conveys the idea of the play and whatever grip it has.

As to the motif of surprise, first, it is necessary to say that those who knew really the basis of such plays of O'Neill's as "The Hairy Ape," "Welded," "Desire Under the Elms," have no reason to be surprised at the theme of love, of life through love, in "Days Without End." Against the beat, as it were, these plays were about nothing else: their ferocity was against love's absence, one way or another, in human life, their appeal and tremor was based on the suffering that the thought of this absence brought to the author. To the real defenders of O'Neill his basic appeal has never been hate, social attack or violent themes: it has been the intense reality of life's impact on the writer: and what they have loved most in him has been not the attack but the human loyalty and thwarted passion for harmony, love and full life that was implicit. The prime qualities of Mr. O'Neill's work have not been reality or thinking or word sense. The two prime O'Neill qualities have been, first, a powerful sense of theatrical design and projection, (the infallibly projectile value of his pattern); second, a lyric intensity of reaction to his play's substance. Mr. O'Neill's two great and remarkable chief qualities are thus, first, theatric and then, second, poetic.

As to the turning point in Eugene O'Neill's career that "Days Without End" represents, it would be better to say only that here, instead of his hero's death, which might have been inherent in the plot and theme, he has the will to check and alter that dramatic course and to put in its place the miracle and force of love's mystery, the reformation through suffering and acknowledgment, and through, to use Wordsworth's profound and elusive phrase, "the deep power of joy."

As to the final sum of the play a careful statement is necessary. I have decided to use the ensuing figure. Suppose a play laid out first as a pattern; the whole taken as 100; the diverse parts proportionate within the whole. Suppose then we say, studying "Days Without End," such things as this: motif of the love, infidelity, early youth, as put into a novel, 18; the priest-uncle-guardian, visit and effects, etc., 20; the hero's account of his stages of piety, atheism, socialism, Communism, et cetera, 15; the wife's reaction, 10; the hero's struggles with faith, love, doubt, 22; and so on—the idea of my illustration should be obvious. Suppose then that seeing the whole array of these motifs, thoughts, acts, making up the play, we say that in proportion the lay-out of their use is good. In my opinion the progression of "Days Without End" and the pattern of thematic ideas and motifs are admirable. This intensity of structure from within, as it were, is Eugene O'Neill.

At the same time suppose that the writing (the words, the thoughts as expressed by words) in which the motifs and thematic ideas are expressed falls far below their value as dramatic units. Take the case of John's reflections (at the beginning of the scene in the study) on the state of America. As a dramatic theme-unit, 6 out of 100, it has a definite dramatic security, while the exact things said on this theme are trite, obvious and banal. This, I hope, will make clear the case of the new O'Neill play. The technical or dramatic skeleton is good, the written lines very bad; in the actual lines heard spoken the word sense and style sense are wanting. Despite that, however, the fundamental dramatic frame comes through. The "damned self" and the mask are securely employed. The motif of John's early revulsion into doubt and violence and the later translation of this into a subconscious desire to destroy the love that gives him life, is remarkable as both theatrical and spiritual creation.

Mr. Lee Simonson's expert settings suited the play's own arbitrary devices and were generally excellent. As the damned, evil self Mr. Stanley Ridges did well a hard task. Miss Selena Royle needs much more flexibility to mood and method if we are not to question whether the love between these two was a little tedious, and the same is true of Mr. Earle Larimore as John Loving. Mr. Larimore needs all through the play more variation of intensity and states of life, and the fact of mere real tears in his crises does not redeem the loss of a sterner and deeper content. Miss Ilka Chase as the partner in John's infidelity got all the meanings conveyed; she could not have been better. Mr. Robert Loraine as the priest, uncle, guardian, gave the finest and most profound portrayal in such a role that I have ever seen. His lines were not abundant, but in every scene he was the broad refuge of all the play's poignancy. There was no sentimental slush or opera *curé*, but that complete identification of piety with good sense that marks the real Catholic ideal of a priest. It was Mr. Loraine who did most to bind the play to its theme. STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Poet of the Irish Revolution

ABOUT two years ago "Midsummer Night Madness"[1] was published, containing, in addition to a curious patronizing introduction by Edward Garnett, some of the finest of modern short stories. Now, in "A Nest of Simple Folk,"[2] Seán O'Faoláin has written a first novel that belongs with the very best of modern fiction—a work of art that is beautifully written, carefully planned, as important in its own way as "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" and perhaps to have as deep an influence as that book has had. Coming so soon after the volume of short stories (which in turn came after a long and cautious apprenticeship) "A Nest of Simple Folk" is more than an exciting novel. It is a step in an important career; reading it gives you the rare sensation of witnessing the development and unfolding of a writer's talent and inevitably suggests the still greater wealth that is latent in O'Faoláin's power over words and his knowledge of people and history, his feeling for the oppressed of his country and his understanding of the way they have suffered and fought. Few of the masters of the recent past have had so much to begin with; Proust and Joyce, I think, had less.

For these reasons the critical reception the books have received is important. Here, it seems, is one of the clearest instances of the working of the class war in the field of the arts, for as the critics have almost unanimously recognized O'Faoláin's possibilities, they have, almost as though with conscious design, attempted to win him to their own concepts of what great writing ought to be, to minimize the qualities in his work which conflict with their own values and underline those which are in agreement. Not that they have neglected his work; on the contrary they have praised it highly. But for what strange reasons! O'Faoláin is nothing if he is not a poet of the revolution; the struggle for Irish independence dominates all his fiction and most of it is given over to dramatizing, in colorful and rhythmic language, the emotions of the men who were doing the actual fighting. Yet in his introduction to "Midsummer Night Madness," Edward Garnett devotes four pages to spirited abuse of the Irish people, "the most backward in Europe," and says not a word about the poverty of the country, the system of education imposed on it, the consequences of English rule—the things that nourish O'Faoláin's writing. In the two paragraphs devoted to O'Faoláin, Garnett praises him, not for having stated in lovely prose the intensity of the struggle against this oppression, but for having captured, of all things, "the feeling of the mournful Irish mountains, of their brooding sad austerity, and their tenderness"! The reviewers have echoed him, and the critic of The New York Sunday Times has made the disgrace complete by holding up this man, whose every line has dealt with the revolution, to refute those who have been calling for a literature which would express the struggles of the oppressed against their oppressors.

A hint of the scope of these two books may indicate the vulgarity of these distortions and perhaps suggest a reason for them. The seven stories in "Midsummer Night Madness" deal with such melodramatic incidents as the shooting of an English spy, wild flights across country, confused violence. "A Nest of Simple Folk" revolves around the struggle for Irish independence from 1840 to 1916 and touches with elaborate detail on the varied aspects of the struggle and the character of English control. "The Irish political struggle," the publishers apologize (how little they sense the vast and waiting audience!) "is but one thread in the varied tapestry"—without adding that it is the thread that binds the whole design together. Even the stories in "Midsummer Night Madness," short and unpretentious as they are, cover almost the entire revolutionary scene, and touch on the dominant features of Irish society. In the first story the revolution is powerful and the revolutionists are feared; in "Fugue" it has become a headlong flight; in "The Bombshop" the defeat is dramatized when a group of conspirators goes to pieces under the strain, one member after another disappearing; in "The Patriot" the fight has been lost, and the book closes as one of the defeated and his bride—now withdrawn from the conflict—watch the aged leader going out to rouse the country again. The plots are subtle and intricate beyond restatement. Each incident carries a burden of implication and no incident is there for its mere picturesque value. In "Midsummer Night Madness," for example, the power of the revolution is illustrated in the way the members of the Irish Republican Army, quartered at the house of a senile voluptuary, a degraded representative of the conquerors, humiliate their unwilling host—they drink his liquor, torment him, their leader has become the lover of the girl who receives his faltering caresses. But already the theme of defeat is sounded. The Tans are beginning to riot through the country, safe because the leader has relaxed his vigilance for the girl, and the oppressors, impotent and weak as they are, are beginning to rule again. In the end, the Irish girl goes away with her master, her husband now, and in the artful contrasts between her rich youth and his weakness, the meaning of the story is pointed. Genius was required, no less, to pack all this into a smooth-running narrative that can be read as a simple action story—genius and infinite devotion; a comparison between the two versions of "The Bombshop," the first published in The Dial in 1927 and the second in the volume of stories, shows how much labor and thought have gone into these works.

"A Nest of Simple Folk" is a long chronicle of the movement for Irish independence, beginning with the birth of Leo Foxe-Donnell, the son of a farmer and of a daughter of the decaying "nobility." Divided into three books, laid in the country, the town and the city, it too touches on the whole of Irish society and is oriented around three desperate attempts to throw off English rule. In the first, Leo, who has been educated by relatives whose very lives illustrate the decadence that has come with English rule, leads a mad attack on the police and is betrayed and imprisoned. After his release he takes part in a gun-running and is betrayed and imprisoned again. The character of the conflict changes with time and new conditions; each attempt is more conscious and better organized; the struggles are more desperate and the emotional intensity more prolonged. At first there is a fight between branches of the family for possession of the land; then the emphasis is on Leo's betrayal by his friend, Johnny Hussey, policeman and spy. The third book is dominated by Johnny's shabby rise in the world, a rise which means the sacrifice of all his human and appealing qualities, a deeper and deeper immersion into

[1] Midsummer Night Madness, by Seán O'Faoláin. Introduction by Edward Garnett. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

[2] A Nest of Simple Folk, by Seán O'Faoláin. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

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the morass of "respectability," the acceptance of the worst standards of the people who control him—until at last his own son turns on him and leaves home to join the revolutionists.

The novel is as intricately organized as the stories. The prose is cadenced, extraordinarily rich in imagery, with rhythms which frequently suggest Joyce—there is other evidence that Joyce has had a powerful influence on O'Faoláin. Indeed, the prose is almost too smooth; there are none of those jagged and heartbroken half-statements which reach into the inexpressible and leave a barb in the reader's memory. The characters are varied, and authentic in a sense that requires explanation—one of the most striking features of the novel is the way in which the slow accumulation of commonplace influences is given dramatic intensity. This is the way, one feels, out of just this kind of ordinary accumulation of friendships, conversations, suspicions, work, that loyalties are manufactured, this is the way spies are created, the way leaders are trained, this is what lies back of the decisions men make in times of crisis. It is even possible to understand what lies back of the desperate forays, such as those Leo went on, that are certain to end in defeat—this is the way, O'Faoláin seems to say, that the most daring of the oppressed test with their lives the strength that still remains with their oppressors, so that others after them may discover when the moment is ripe.

These, then, are great books, or at least the products of a great talent. But there is some ground for anxiety in them, too; the struggle seems a little less intense in the second book than in the first; the details of the actual fighting are a little dim, as though the author's memory no longer gave him so much; the poverty seems a little more picturesque and the oppression a little less cruel. In the second version of "The Bombshop" the violence is softened a little in the lovely prose, the killing isn't quite so brutal and ugly and real—something soft and nostalgic has come into the writing. Meanwhile the critics are hailing O'Faoláin, emphasizing his gift for creating atmosphere, and it is easy to see what they have in mind—they want to make another Conrad of him. Well, he is better than Conrad now, but as you read these stories, as you read the reviews and Garnett's introduction and hit the soft spots in the books, there are moments when you want to cry out: "Come back! You have fallen in with the cleverest of all the enemies of your people!"

ROBERT CANTWELL.

Portrait of Swift

The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift, by Stephen Gwynn. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 373 pages. $3.75.

BIOGRAPHIES of Jonathan Swift and books about his work already exceed in bulk the sum total of his published writings and correspondence. To those who know this, the appearance of three new biographies of Swift within the last six years may seem an impertinence; nevertheless Shane Leslie, Carl Van Doren and now Stephen Gwynn have each in his own way thrown light, even if only a little, into a character so dark and curious as to seem almost unfathomable. The comparatively recent revival of interest in the character and work of Swift can fairly be attributed to two causes: the disillusionment and cynicism caused by the German war and the completion of Ball's great six-volume edition of "The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift" in 1914. The results of that war drew readers to the refuge of his writings; the "Correspondence" cleared the way for future biographers.

Mr. Gwynn's study is temperate in tone and pleasing in style—altogether not one of the least good contributions to a reasonable understanding of the physics and chemistry of Swift's character and philosophy. In a field in which Sir Walter Scott, Sir Henry Craik and Sir Leslie Stephen delighted to do themselves honor, new biographers must watch their step—great as is the actual advantage which Ball has given them of their predecessors. Some of Swift's biographers have been hero worshipers, and others have been merely fools; but these gentry alone do not wholly account for his too sensational reputation with posterity. Jonathan Swift, the man, has paid dearly for the elaborate legend which has grown up around the Dean of St. Patrick's. Both Van Doren and Gwynn have done much to dissipate an artificial gloom.

The nonsense about Swift swelled to enormous proportions in the nineteenth century. Much of it persists: Swift, who was born by accident in Dublin of English parents, is always called an Irishman, because he never could get a job anywhere else. In an age when both Lord Somers and the first Duke of Marlborough spent their last years in mental twilight, without ever being called "mad" thereafter, Swift's four years of profound melancholia have left him with a reputation like Nietzsche's, although according to his constant attendant at the time, he "never did or said a foolish thing." And the man who could make himself the most amusing companion in the world and was popular to excess among his friends, is commonly supposed to have been a victim of misanthropy. As a matter of fact, Swift expected entirely too much of human nature; that, as Mr. Gwynn points out, was one of his faults. The other was pride carried to the point of making himself suffer from his own power of self-control.

Mr. Gwynn engages in an interesting shift of emphasis in this volume, spending some time on two subjects which are often passed over. Not only does he dispose effectively of the Macaulay myth as to Swift's intellectual apprenticeship with Sir William Temple at Moor Park, but he points out that Swift was not only not a servant, but a trusted secretary, and always regarded Temple with affection. His only regret could have been that Temple did not put him into politics rather than let him go into the Church. On the subject of Swift's early and intense ambition to become a poet, Mr. Gwynn is exceptionally sound. Swift's pindarics are stilted things, but the spirit with which he went at them is important—even for an age when as Johnson says, "All the boys and girls caught the pleasing fashion, and they who could do nothing else could write like Pindar." It was more than Dryden's "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet" that turned the author of "Tale of a Tub" to satiric couplets of eight syllables. He already knew "Hudibras" by heart.

Mr. Gwynn is not squeamish on the subject of the fascination which filth had for Swift, and makes accurate use in this connection of Swift's own observation that "A nice man is a man of nasty ideas." Therefore it seems strange that the author overlooked the curious charge which Dr. Thomas Beddoes brought against Swift when he published his "Hygëia" in 1802. This posthumous diagnosis caused an explosion and twelve years later prompted Scott's sarcastic reply that until the doctors could preserve the living, they had better let the dead alone. Tied up with the question of Swift's temperament and personal habits, is the tragic difficulty of the two women who really loved

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him. Yet it is characteristic of the literature on Swift that students of his life should have spent much time arguing whether or no he ever went through a ceremony of marriage with Stella, when the important matter was the undoubted stipulation that he should never see her alone. In this connection it is a relief to find that Mr. Gwynn does not get stuck in the mud of modern psychology.

Far more important than guesses as to what so artful and complicated a character as Jonathan Swift may have been hoping and thinking at any moment, are the undeniable facts that he suffered all his life from what is now a well defined disease of the ear, and that when he died his brain was "loaded with water." And over and above this we must allow for the disappointments of politics and the profession he chose as second best. Altogether he was not wholly unsuited to the eighteenth-century Church of England, and for thirty-one years it provided him with the safety and leisure of a good income. His apparent passion for poetry disappeared, and an appetite for power became the controlling motive of his life. For three years (1710-13) the accidents of English politics allowed him to indulge this appetite, chiefly in well-doing. Incidentally, the necessities of Oxford and Bolingbroke made him over into one of the greatest of English pamphleteers, and promoted "The Conduct of the Allies," which still makes fine reading in the cause of peace.

Readers of "The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift" are left no reason to wonder why a famous author who died full of years and honor should ever have been called a "ruin." It is true Swift never got all he desired (and that seems to have been much), but which of us does? It was his inability to forget his failures and console himself with second best, that set him off from the common run of humanity. There is a good deal to be said for the theory that although Swift was the "hypocrite reversed" which Bolingbroke called him, his great god was success, and ambition devoured the delight or life.

STEWART MITCHELL.

Insurance and the Public

How Safe Is Life Insurance?, by L. Seth Schnitman. New York: The Vanguard Press. 274 pages. $2.

The Social Cost of Industrial Insurance, by Maurice Taylor. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 460 pages. $3.25.

SLOWLY the depression is working its miracles. It is significant that, after the life-insurance business has gone unchallenged for so many years, two critical volumes about it should appear almost simultaneously. It is of almost equal significance that the more bitterly reproachful volume, dealing with the least vulnerable phase of insurance, should be written by the former chief of the Division of Current Business of the U. S. Department of Commerce, while the less critical volume, dealing with the most baneful and socially most undesirable phase of the business, should be written by an active social worker.

Frankly acknowledging the role of critic, Mr. Schnitman announces that his "first concern is in the safety of the estate he has created and in the millions of other future estates." Dr. Taylor's study—part of a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University—follows the pre-depression fashion of research and is presented "in no spirit of propagandism and with every effort to eliminate bias by stating facts and figures on both sides of the question."

Since 65 million men and women have insurance estates amounting to well over $100,000 million, Mr. Schnitman is deeply concerned with both the soundness of the management and the investments of this huge business. Characterizing mutuality as a "hoax," he points out the nepotism of present-day insurance companies and tells us that in 1932 alone, ordinary policy-holders paid to about 150,000 agents commissions amounting to considerably more than $250 million.

He completely deflates the claim of insurance officials that their superior talents as investment specialists entitle them to salaries of from $100,000 to $200,000 a year. Mr. Schnitman shows that insurance investments have fared no better than others. The highly paid insurance experts merely followed the regular investment routine. As a result, twelve of the fifteen largest companies held more than $1,350 million in unpaid farm mortgages at the end of 1932. These were concentrated mainly in a few states. These same twelve companies foreclosed two million acres of farm land during the same year. Fifteen of the largest companies had approximately $4,000 million in real-estate mortgages by the end of 1932. Foreclosures converted our insurance officials into landlords, real-estate operators, innkeepers, storekeepers, theatre managers, etc., not to speak of practically owning the Empire State Building and Radio City. Already "about 3 percent of the total assets of our companies are in foreclosed farms, apartments, small houses, office buildings, stores and the like." Their increasing investments in municipal, railroad and public-utility securities, many of them now in default, were scarcely examples of better judgment.

The cost of insurance is startling. According to Mr. Schnitman:

> The annual expenditures of our life companies are somewhere near 3½ billions. Of this amount less than 2½ billions is received by policy-holders each year. . . . The administration of life insurance alone requires virtually twice as much money as was necessary to defray the total expenses of the federal government before the outbreak of the World War.

The apathy and the ignorance on this problem fully justify Mr. Schnitman's vigorous style. His readable volume will awaken many a policy-holder to a truer picture of his insurance investments.

Dr. Taylor does not permit himself to become as excited as Mr. Schnitman. Even on the most solid ground he treads timidly. To use the apt phrase coined recently by Dr. Walton Hamilton, where his nouns give his adjectives take away. Morover, drawing its testimony almost exclusively from official sources, his book shows no awareness of the growing critical literature in America about industrial insurance. The disclosures of the famous Armstrong Commission of 1905 and the indictments of private insurance by Justice Louis D. Brandeis are completely ignored. What a pity doctoral dissertations are still required! For the facts disclosed by Dr. Taylor cry for a Jeremiah. They should shake the nation from one end to the other. Just listen:

In 1930 industrial insurance amounted to over $18,000 million. Although this form of insurance—that in which premiums are collected weekly—is confined almost exclusively to wage earners, the business grew steadily until 1932 with no relation to economic conditions. From 1930 to 1932 incomes declined 60 percent, but industrial premiums paid increased by 4.5 percent. Every $1,000 industrial policy costs $41.13 more than ordinary insurance during the first two years.

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Women outnumber men as policy-holders, although their heirs are in less need of protection. Over one-quarter of the policies are on children under five years of age—a tribute to the silver-tongued industrial agent. For every dollar's worth of insurance sold in 1932, $1.35 worth was terminated. Death claims accounted for only 3 percent of the business terminated, while lapses, involving practically a total loss to the industrial policy-holders, amounted to nearly $2,500 million in the same year. "In normal times an average of 55 percent of all lapses occur in the first year, one-third in the second, and about 12 percent in the third." For every dollar paid to the companies in premiums between 1911 and 1932, ordinary policy-holders received on all claims sixty-eight cents, but industrial policy-holders received only forty-five cents.

In normal times between one-half and two-thirds of the poorest of our population—the dependent group in the United States—pays tribute to the industrial insurance companies. Families dependent upon private or public aid carry, on an average, in excess of $1,000 in insurance and spend on an average $1.15 weekly on these premiums. Between 11 and 19 percent of the relief received by these destitute families in charity goes for insurance premiums.

These are only a few of Dr. Taylor's findings. But he is more inclined to blame the agents than the insurance companies. The agents' complaint that the companies embitter and harass their lives by the continuous demand for new business, and that the official rules mean simply "don't let us catch you at it," finds no responsive chord in Dr. Taylor's book. The volume hardly visualizes the tragedy of insecurity involved in a system which requires the poorest of the population to pay exorbitant costs for insurance which does not insure.

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN.

Confectionery

Flush: A Biography, by Virginia Woolf. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 185 pages. $2.

SUPERFICIALLY, there can be no quarrel with this latest and very popular biography of Elizabeth Barrett's dog. The book is a trifle, a slightly overrich confection that can be consumed in an hour's reading, throughout which one has the decided advantage of hearing Mrs. Woolf's balanced cadences. During this time, too, we are given an opportunity to explore the Barrett household and Mr. Browning's trouser leg through the eyes of Elizabeth's cocker spaniel—what more can be demanded from an admitted *tour de force,* a brief excursion into a Victorian back parlor?

My distrust of "Flush's" value, both as entertainment and literary history, rises from two sources. The first is a question of form. To anyone who has read either of Mrs. Woolf's "Common Readers," the singular, oblique angle of observation that she employs here is quite familiar. This technique, which has proved itself so effective in an essay of five thousand words or less, shows its defects when extended through the length of a more ambitious performance. Carried over into narrative, its dramatic impact is lost—once we are permitted to see the images of Miss Barrett and Mr. Browning transferred to the retina of Flush's myopic brown eyes, further flashes of the same picture seem repetitious; the conceit wears thin. The other source of disbelief lies in Mrs. Wolf's fixed view of Wimpole Street from present-day Bloomsbury windows. There is more than a shadow of condescension in this deliberately fastidious reproduction of the Bloomsbury-Wimpole Street atmosphere; Mrs. Woolf seems to be continually inviting the reader to share her refined fun. Her emphasis upon trifles of human (and animal) behavior reaches a pointlessness that defeats its own intentions (the same emphasis, by the way, may be found in even the most charming of Horace Walpole's letters).

In reading of Flush's supposed sensations as he is delivered by Miss Mitford to Miss Barrett, and of his dislike for a Mr. Browning who wore yellow gloves, I suspect we learn rather more of Bloomsbury than of Wimpole Street. And when he is captured by Whitechapel thieves and held for ransom, his disgust is not at all unlike that of a well dressed, sensitive woman. Of course we must grant all this as part of Mrs. Woolf's method, which involves her assuming a number of fashionably Victorian attitudes, stressing humor, charm, sentiment, with a conscious artistry which, here, is a shade too artful to be convincing. Surely we cannot quarrel seriously with Mrs. Woolf's evident enjoyment in writing this little book, but it remains a form of self-indulgence scarcely creditable to a writer of her stature.

HORACE GREGORY.

Mr. Hammett Goes Coasting

The Thin Man, by Dashiell Hammett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

NOW that Dashiell Hammett is beginning to be taken seriously by the highbrows, my first enthusiasm for him is beginning to cool a little. Not that "The Thin Man" is not a first-rate murder story, and one that only Dashiell Hammett could have written. But, perhaps because he has turned the trick so easily before that he is now getting a little tired of it, perhaps because we are beginning to notice that he sometimes repeats his effects, "The Thin Man" seems a less excitingly fresh performance than, say, "The Maltese Falcon." It is still head-and-shoulders above any other murder story published since his last one. His hero this time is Nick Charles, a retired detective, whose holiday in New York with his rich young wife is threatened by the disappearance of Clyde Winant, an eccentric inventor, an old client of Nick's—in Nick's own words, "a good guy, but screwy." When it comes to that, the whole Winant family are pretty screwy, and Nick quite pardonably wants to have nothing to do with the case. He gets dragged in, willy-nilly, however, and in spite of his apparent laziness and an obvious addiction to liquor in a harsh and frequent form (his first remark to his wife in the mornings is usually a request for a drink "to cut the phlegm"), he bestirs himself sufficiently to get his man.

One reason why Hammett's books have been so outstanding, aside from the naturalism of his style, the careless humanity of his characters, is that his murders are gangster-political affairs, they come naturally out of his tough backgrounds, instead of being the kind of academic and far-fetched bridge problems in a vacuum of the ordinary detective-story writer. In "The Thin Man," though his New York setting is authentic, and contains some very lifelike policemen, speakeasy proprietors and "rats," the crime and the criminal are in the orthodox tradition. Perhaps Mr. Hammett is coasting, or perhaps a little blue eagle has whispered something in his ear.

T. S. MATTHEWS.

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Books in Brief

Americana

A MOUNTAIN TOWNSHIP, by Walter Hard. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 238 pages. $2.*

Purists may decide whether these brief pieces are poetry. They have an essential of poetry: they belong to speech rather than to writing. Their basic tone is that which prevails in Vermont, their form that of the very brief spoken tale, the little American *conte*. The turn is almost invariably that of humor, even in such a tense and tragic piece as "Pa Is Hindered." Here and there a touch appears of that extravagance usually counted as part of the color of new frontiers, as when Miles says he'd as soon put his feet on the Northern Lights as on one of them new-fangled base-burners. But on the whole the humor is wry and pawky, emerging without stress, like the native character. Dorothy Canfield Fisher in an admirable introduction does well to warn the reader against devouring Walter Hard's book; it is meant for slow savor. Taken a few at a time, the hundred or more pieces reveal individuals and finally, with reticence, a whole community.

BLANKETS AND MOCCASINS, by Glendolin Damon Wagner and William A. Allen. *Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 304 pages. $2.*

The year of the Custer massacre, when the West was still wild, William Allen went to Montana to open a dental-barber-blacksmith shop. This book, consisting of his diaries and reminiscences, and illustrated with valuable contemporary photographs, is a record of his adventures and experiences. Dr. Allen has many interesting things to say about the Crow Indians and their legends, and about his long friendship with Chief Plenty Coups, the hero of Frank B. Linderman's "American." The story is somewhat sentimentalized by Mrs. Wagner, who collaborated with Dr. Allen in the preparation of his material.

Drama

THE BEST PLAYS OF 1932-1933, by Burns Mantle. *New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 545 pages. $3.*

This is the 1932-1933 number in Mr. Burns Mantle's valuable series of "Best Plays." The volume contains the usual Introduction, which covers the season in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Southern California; the summaries of the ten best plays of the season; the list of the long runs on Broadway up to June, 1933; a list of the Pulitzer prize winners; and of the plays chosen to represent the theatre seasons respectively from 1909 to 1933. To this are added the chapter "Where and When They Were Born," and the Necrology. The ten plays chosen are "Both Your Houses," by Maxwell Anderson; "Dinner at Eight," by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber; "When Ladies Meet," by Rachel Crothers; "Design For Living," by Noel Coward; "Biography," by S. N. Behrman; "Alien Corn," by Sidney Howard; "The Late Christopher Bean," by Sidney Howard; "We, the People," by Elmer Rice; "Pigeons and People," by George M. Cohan and "One Sunday Afternoon," by James Hagan.

History

MINNESOTA IN THE WAR WITH GERMANY, by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel. Vol. II. *St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 290 pages. $2.50.*

There is little evidence here that a relatively large concentration of German-Americans, Socialists and Wobblies interfered seriously with the prosecution of the War in Minnesota. Attempts of Germans to protest against the draft were abandoned when speakers at their first few sessions were punished and further meetings forbidden. The views of two prominent Socialists and one prominent Republican landed them in Fort Leavenworth but had little other effect; the Socialist administration of Minneapolis figured in no overt incident; the farmer Nonpartisan League's chief offense was a speech by Robert La Follette which, while it found favor with many of the members, was repudiated by the League's leaders.

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Most stubborn were the Wobblies, with their strikes and their slogan of the class war; but the case of U. S. A. *vs.* William D. Haywood and 164 others resulted in sentences of from three months to twenty years. This, plus a judicious application of mob violence, ended that threat. Disaffectation continued but, as in other states, it was rendered inarticulate. The steam roller familiar throughout the country was more than heavy enough to iron out the kind and quantity of opposition which developed in Minnesota.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE, by Herbert Agar. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 337 pages. $3.50.*

"The People's Choice" is a fine example of historical criticism, being a lucid and interesting survey of the political history of the United States from the point of view of the executive power. Mr. Agar notes that the first seven Presidents exercised a decisive influence in government, which with some exceptions has been lacking on the part of their successors. It can hardly be doubted that the failure to settle the slavery question by political means, and the resort to war, are to be accounted for in large part by the paralysis of the presidency from W. H. Harrison to Buchanan, or that the failure to meet by anticipation the present economic collapse is due to lethargy or ineptitude in the executive department. Mr. Agar finds at the beginning of the republic three political concepts, the democracy of Jefferson, the plutocracy of Hamilton, and the aristocracy of John and John Quincy Adams—that is to say, the type of government urged by Milton in his "Free Commonwealth," in which those best fitted by intelligence and training are elected to guide the state. He shows how democracy has been swallowed by plutocracy, how aristocracy early became politically impossible. In his conclusion, he expresses a pious hope that the republic in its American sense may be saved by a revival of popular trust in the presidency. That hope is now on trial. Its fulfilment will stand out as a great exception in history, for "Democracy normally culminates in dictatorship."

THE THREE ESTATES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LITERATURE, by Ruth Mohl. *New York: Columbia University Press. 436 pages. $4.50.*

Miss Mohl's subject is an interesting one. She examines the works of Medieval and Renaissance literature, and finds the class structure of society expressed in it. Each writer tended toward social criticism according to his class origin. Priests, for instance, might deal with the foibles of clerics, but more often and more triumphantly against the haughtiness and gluttony of the nobility and the sloth and sottishness of peasants. Piece by piece, until the matter becomes wearisome, Miss Mohl subjects each work to the same analysis without attempting to set her findings into broader social and historical relationships. The book is a typical example of the Ph.D. thesis, timorously limiting itself to the assembling of data.

Contributors

HAROLD M. GROVES, former member of the Wisconsin legislature and of the Wisconsin Tax Commission, is professor of Public Finance at the University of Wisconsin. He was appointed chief tax adviser to the Treasury Department by Mr. Roosevelt upon the retirement of Mr. Acheson, and inexplicably dropped two days later by Mr. Morgenthau.

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HORACE GREGORY is the author of a translation of Catullus, of two volumes of poetry—"Chelsea Rooming House" and "No Retreat"—and of a critical study of D. H. Lawrence, "Pilgrim of the Apocalypse," published last fall by The Viking Press.

T. S. MATTHEWS is literary editor of Time and author of the novel, "To the Gallows I Must Go."

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